

THE
ENGLISH RELATIVE PRONOUNS,

A CRITICAL ESSAY

BY

ERNST ALBIN KOCK,

LICENTIATE OF PHILOSOPHY.



LUND 1897.
HJALMAR MÖLLER,
UNIVERSITY BOOKSELLER.

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ENGLISH RELATIVE PRONOUNS

A GRAMMAR

BY J. H. GREEN

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<i>þe [ic sæde þæt] he wis is</i> etc. (§ 193).	<i>þe ic lufie and þone geferan hatie;</i>
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- Several mod. grammars in addition to those mentioned above.

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- Cent. = The Cent. Dictionary of the English Language. London 1889.
- MURRAY, see NED.
- NED = J. A. H. MURRAY'S New English Dictionary. Oxford 1888—97.
- SCHMIDT = Shakespeare-Lexicon. Berlin and London 1886.
- WEBSTER = WEBSTER'S Dictionary. London 1864.
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Texts.

- ÆLFRIC = ÆLFRIC's Homilies, ed. THORPE. London 1844—46.
 Andr. = Andreas, in BAP II.
 Aur. = Codex Aureus Inscription, in OET.
 ASC = The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. THORPE. London 1861. A, B, etc.
 refer to the MSS as designated by THORPE.
 ASR = An Anglo-Saxon Reader, ed. SWEET. Oxford 1891.
 BAP = Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, ed. WÜLCKER. Kassel 1881—88, Leipzig 1894—97.
 Be. = ÆLFRED's Bede, ed. MILLER. EETS 95, 96. London 1890—91. (Also ed. SMITH. Cambridge 1722).
 Beow. = Beowulf, in BAP I.
 BH = The Blickling Homilies, ed. MORRIS. EETS 58, 63, 73. London 1874—80.
 Bo. = ÆLFRED's Boethius, ed. CARDALE. London 1829.
 Byrht. = Byrhtnoth's tod, in BAP I.
 CC = CYNEWULF's Crist, in BAP III.
 Chart. = Charters, in OET.
 CHAUC. = The Student's Chaucer, ed. SKEAT. Oxford 1895.
 Cp. = ÆLFRED's Gregory (Cura Pastoralis), ed. SWEET. EETS 45, 50. London 1871—72.
 Crus. = DEFOE's Robinson Crusoe in STURZEN-BECKER's Läsebok. Stockholm 1876. Cited by page.
 Dan. = Daniel, in BAP II.
 Denk. = Denksprüche, in BAP I.
 Di. = ÆLFRED's Preface to Gregory's Dialogue, in Anglia II.
 Durh. = Durham Admonition, in OET.
 EETS = Early English Text Society's Publications. London 1864—97.
 El. = Elene, in BAP II.
 Ex. = Exodus, in BAP II.
 GBAP = Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, ed. GREIN. Göttingen 1857—58. Cassel and Göttingen 1861—64.
 Geb. = Gebete, in BAP II.
 Gen. = Genesis, in BAP II.
 Gen.-Ex. = The Story of Genesis and Exodus, ed. MORRIS. EETS 7. London 1865 (1873).
 Glaub. = Glaubensbekenntnis, in BAP II.
 Glor. = Gloria, in BAP II.
 Greg. = Die englische Gregorlegende, ed. SCHULZ. Königsberg 1876.

- Guth. = Guthlac, in BAP III.
 HB = Holy Bible.
 Heil. = Heiligenkalender, in BAP II.
 HG = The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions, ed. SKEAT. Cambridge 1871—87.
 Höll. = Christi höllenfahrt etc., in BAP II.
 IRVING = IRVING'S Alhambra, ed. MORÉN. Örebro 1873. Cited by page.
 JOHNSON = SAM. JOHNSON'S Lives of the Poets, ed. WARNE & Co. London. Cited by page.
 Jud. = Judith, in BAP II.
 Jul. = Juliana, in BAP III.
 Jüng. = Vom jüngsten tage, in BAP II.
 Klag. = Die klagen der gefallenen Engel, in BAP II.
 LAZ. = LAZAMON'S Brut, ed. MADDEN. London 1847. When B (the later text) is not added, A is meant.
 Le. = ÆLFRED'S Legal Code, in Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, ed. SCHMIED. Leipzig 1858.
 Lehr. = Des vaters lehren, in BAP I.
 Leid. = Leiden Riddle, in OET.
 LS = ÆLFRIC'S Lives of Saints I, ed. SKEAT. EETS 76, 82. London 1881—85.
 MAC. Bac. = MACAULAY'S Lord Bacon, ed. LONGMANS, GREEN, and Co. London.
 — Milt. = MACAULAY'S Milton. Ditto. Both cited by page.
 MADDEN, see LAZ. Cited by volume and page.
 MARLOWE = The works of CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, ed. DYCE. London 1850. Cited by volume and page.
 Mart. = Martyrology Fragment, in OET.
 MAUND. = The Voyage and Travaile of SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILE, ed. HALLIWELL. London 1866.
 Md'A = MALORY'S Morte d'Arthur, ed. SOMMER. London.
 Metr. = ÆLFRED'S Metra in GBAP II.
 MILT. = MILTON.
 OEH = Old English Homilies, ed. MORRIS. EETS 29, 34. London 1867—68.
 OET = The Oldest English Texts, ed. SWEET. EETT 83. London 1885.
 Or. = ÆLFRED'S Orosius, ed. SWEET. EETS 79. London 1883.
 Orm. = The Ormulum, ed. WHITE. Oxford 1852.
 Pan. = Der Panther, in BAP III.
 Phön. = Phönix, in BAP III.
 Ps. = ÆLFRED'S Psalms, ed. THORPE. Oxford 1835.
 Psal. = Psalmen, in GBAP II.
 PsL = Psalm L, in GBAP II.

Red. = Rede der Seele an den Leichnam, in BAP II.

Räts. = Rätsel, in BAP III.

Sch. = Wunder der Schöpfung, in BAP III.

Seef. = Seefahrer, in BAP I.

SHAK. = SHAKESPEARE, Globe Edition. London 1895.

So. = ÆLFRED'S Augustin (Flores Soliloquiorum), in Englische Studien XVIII. Leipzig 1893.

Sp. I, II = Specimens of Early English, ed. MORRIS and SKĒAT. Oxford 1887—89.

Sp. III = Specimens of English Literature, ed. SKĒAT. Oxford 1887.

Trgs. = Traumgesicht vom Kreuze Christi, Text B, in BAP II.

Vat. = Vater unser, in BAP II.

VH = Vespasian Hymns, in OET.

VP = Vespasian Psalter, in OET.

Wand. = Wanderer, in BAP I.

Weit. = Des sängers weitfahrt, in BAP I.

WYCL. = WYCLIF.

Zaub. = Zaubersprüche, in BAP I.

Most pieces in BAP and GBAP, further Gen.-Ex., Greg., LAZ., Mart., the small pieces in OET are cited by line; Chart., Geb., LS, Ps., Sp., VH, VP, Zaub. by number or section etc. and line (or stanza), the other OE and ME works by page and line. MnE prose works are cited by volume, book, chapter, etc. (by page only when specially stated); MnE poetical works by book, canto, stanza, etc. (and line), or by act, scene, and line.

I usually adhere to the spelling (and the emendations) of the ed:s. In OE quot:s I leave out the accents and many of the stops. For *ǣ*, *v*, in GBAP, I write *æ*, *w* (as in BAP). I print *þæt* (*þat*, *þet*) also where the word is abbreviated. The same holds good of *Sancte* etc.

Rough Chronological Table.

8th	{	OET; ÆLFRED; ASC 1—178 (save notes);
till		
11th	{	HG; BH; BAP; ASR; ÆLFRIC; ASC 178—364 (save notes).
cent.		
12th	{	ASC 364—385, notes; Sp. I 1; Sp. I 3—4, 17 B; Orm.; OEH.

Cent.

- 13th { LA³. A; Sp. I 7—17 A; Gen.-Ex.;
LA³. B; Sp. I 18—19, II 1—3; Greg.
- 14th { Sp. II 4—10;
Sp. II 11—20; MAUND.; CHAUC.; Sp. III 1.
- 15th { Sp. III 2—5;
Sp. III 6—10; Md'A.
- 16th { Sp. III 11—21;
Sp. III 22—28; MARLOWE, SPENSER, SHAK.
- 17th { HB;
MILTON.
- 18th { STEELE; ADDISON; Crus.; Gull.; POPE; YOUNG; FIELD.; CHESTERFIELD;
JOHNSON; SHERIDAN.

Abbreviations.

- | | |
|--|--|
| acc. = accusative. | MnE = Modern English (from c. 1500). |
| adj. = adjective. | mod. = modern. |
| adv. = adverb. | neut. = neuter. |
| ant. = antecedent. | nom. = nominative. |
| App. = Appendix. | obj. = object. |
| c. = circa, about. | obl. = oblique. |
| cent. = century; -ries. | OE = Old English (till c. 1200). |
| conj. = conjunction. | OF = Old French. |
| dat. = dative. | OHG = Old High German. |
| dem. = demonstrative. | OIceI. = Old Icelandic. |
| ed. = edited by; edition. | pers. = person; -ns; -nal. |
| ex. = example. | plur. = plural. |
| fem. = feminine. | pred. compl. = predicative complement. |
| gen. = genitive. | prep. = preposition. |
| Goth. = Gothic. | pron. = pronoun. |
| inst. = instrumental. | quot. = quotation. |
| int. = interrogative. | rel. = relative. |
| Lat. = Latin. | sing. = singular. |
| masc. = masculine. | subj. = subject. |
| ME = Middle English (c. 1200—c. 1500). | sup. = superscription. |
| MHG = Middle High German. | |

By »etc.« after a nom. sing. masc. I wish expressly to point out that not that form in particular, but the whole paradigm, is kept in view.

Introduction.

§ 1. With the force of rel. pron:s were used in the Old Teutonic Languages

- 1) pron:s of dem. origin, e. g. OE *se, swilc*,
- 2) inflexible particles, e. g. OE *þe, swa*,
- 3) pron:s of int. origin, e. g. OE *hwa, hwilc, hwæðer*,
- 4) pers. pron:s.

§ 2. The way in which the dem. pron:s assumed the function of rel:s may have been this (cf. ERDMANN, MAURER):

A) If two parallel clauses had the same subj., originally often indicated by the verb-endings only, this subj. could be emphasized in one of the clauses. Then the verb of this clause had a tendency to move towards the front, the other verb would slide towards the rear. In proportion as the endings lost in expressiveness, pron:s and nouns were employed more frequently. A prehistoric complex comparable to the OE *wise sindun, dryhtne folgiað* (with the verbs last) or *sindun wise, folgiað dryhtne* (with the verbs in front) would **a)** if the subj. of the former clause was emphasized, assume the shape represented by the OE *sindun wise, dryhtne folgiað*, or *þà sindun wise, dryhtne folgiað*, or *sindun wise þà, dryhtne folgiað*, or *þà menn sindun wise*, etc. **b)** if the subj. of the latter clause was emphasized, assume the shape represented by the OE *wise sindun, folgiað dryhtne*, or *þà, wise sindun, folgiað dryhtne*, or *þà menn*, etc.

B) In complexes like *þà [menn] sindun wise, dryhtne folgiað* etc., the dem. word, used more freely, was repeated emphatically to mark more distinctly the coherence of the clauses: (a) *þà sindun wise, þà, dryhtne folgiað*; (b) *þà, wise sindun, þà folgiað dryhtne*.

C) The pron. to which the secondary clause was, so to say, attached, lost its stress and coalesced with the said clause: (A) *sindun wise þà, dryhtne folgiað* became *sindun wise, þǣ dryhtne folgiað*; similarly *þà, wise sindun, folgiað dryhtne* became *þǣ wise sindun, folgiað dryhtne*; (B) the complexes under B became *þà sindun wise, þǣ dryhtne folgiað*; *þǣ wise sindun, þà folgiað dryhtne*.

Thus in these last sentences the common subj., which had been distinctly expressed only in one of the clauses and had, as it were, re-echoed in the other, originally seconded by the verb-ending, was now fully expressed in both clauses.

D) When in one or both of the clauses the common idea was not subj. (nor pred. compl.), but obj. or adjunct, a similar development took place; but the transposition of the dem. into the subordinate clause was then often accompanied by transformation (change of case): (a) *þām gelicað wisdom, þām dryhtne folgiað* could change into *þām gelicað wisdom, þā dryhtne folgiað*; (b) *þā, wisdom gelicað, þā folgiað dryhtne* could change into *þām wisdom gelicað, þā folgiað dryhtne*.

The development now described is not to be understood as if, during some certain period or other, complexes of the kind in question could be formed after one model only. Ancient constructions remained amongst the newer, and the position of the verb varied. Analogies were, as is so often the case, of great consequence.

§ 3. The inflexible particles were used to denote relation, partly in connection with (original) dem:s, partly alone, partly also in connection with original int:s and with personals. Whether the rel. function of all these particles was of later date than that of the dem.-rel:s, is questionable. Cf. TOMANETZ, pp. 25—28, 36, who gives a résumé of TOBLER'S, KÖLBING'S, ERDMANN'S, and HOLZMANN'S views on the OHG *thâr* and states as the result of his own inquiries, that this inflexible particle was older, and that it ceded, in the oldest High German, in proportion as the flexible *ther* gained ground. Cf. also NADER § 106. As to the OE *þe* I will, for the present, express no opinion. In treating of *se*, *se þe*, *þe* in the order now indicated, I only comply with the arrangement hitherto commonly adopted; cf. KOCH § 346, NADER § 92.

§ 4. The int.-rel:s were also used partly alone, partly in certain combinations.

§ 5. The pers. pron:s were under certain circumstances used relatively partly alone, partly combined with words of the preceding groups.

§ 6. Thus there were in the Old Teutonic Languages a great variety of rel. combinations. Some groups of these I will subject to a special examination before entering on each rel. separately. The sentences containing *se* etc., *se þe* etc., and *þe*, which I have found in OE, from the 8th cent. till towards the end of the 12th, will be arranged after a system which may appear novel, but is not incompatible with ERDMANN'S and MAURER'S views. This system is also applicable to OHG, OIcel., and so forth, thus facilitating comparisons which I hope to make on some future occasion. As regards OE alone, this systematic arrangement will help us in showing the justifiableness of certain readings of the old MSS. In this respect many editors and authors have sinned. (DIETRICH

in HAUPT's Zeitschr. X: 332—333, XI: 444—448, made the same complaint long ago, when treating of the number of the verb.) They have rejected as incorrect or nonsensical, or at least put down as isolated and strange, what is not isolated and what is not very strange either, in so far as a good many analogous cases can be brought forward, one throwing light on and supporting the other. I shall also have an opportunity of discussing several single passages which have been explained in a way theoretically clashing with the result of a careful survey of the whole material before me, and practically leading to inaccurate syntactical statements.

Chapter I.

§ 7. The rel. combinations which I have found in OE before the end of the 12th cent. and which contain *se* etc., *se þe* etc., and *þe*, can be arranged according to the following table of formulas or types, in which

A = an ant. in the nom., being either a word which can never be used as a rel., or else a word which only in another position can be used as such,

a [a'] = the same in [different] obl. case[s],

D = either a dem. word in the nom. in such a position (immediately before the rel. clause) that it might be taken to be a rel., or else a rel. pron. of dem. origin likewise in the nom.

d [d'] = the same in [different] obl. case[s],

H = a word in the nom. by means of which an idea expressed in a preceding rel. clause is expressed once more in the main clause,

h = the same in an obl. case,

R = an inflexible rel. particle representing a nom.,

r [r'] = the same representing [different] obl. case[s],

∴ denotes that first the [remainder of the] secondary clause follows and then the [remainder of the] main clause,

* denotes that the type is probable (or at least possible) but not certain on account of the pronoun's ambiguity of form.

			The rel. clause is preceded by [the greater part of] the main clause.	The rel. clause is followed by [the greater part of] the main clause.							
			A	B	C	D		E		F	
						a	b	a	b	a	b
NOM. + nom.	1		D	DR	R	D..		DR..		R..	
	2		AD	ADR	AR	D..H	AD..	DR..H	ADR..	R..H	AR..
	3		AAD	AADR		AD..H		ADR..H		AR..H	
OBL. + nom.	4	<i>a</i>	d	dR		*d		*dR			
		<i>β</i>	*D	*DR	R	*D		DR		R..	
	5	<i>a</i>	ad	adR				*dR..h			
		<i>β</i>	aD	aDR	aR	D..h	aD..	DR..h	aDR..	R..h	aR..
	6	<i>β</i>	*aaD			aD..h				*aR..h	
		<i>γ</i>	*aAD			AD..h		ADR..h		AR..h	
NOM. + obl.	7	<i>a</i>	*D	Dr		*D					
		<i>β</i>	d		r	*d					
	8	<i>a</i>	AD	Adr		*D..H	AD..	*Dr..H	*ADr..		
		<i>β</i>	Ad	Adr	Ar	*d..H	Ad..	*dr..H	*Adr..		Ar..
		<i>γ</i>					*ad..				
	9	<i>β</i>	AAd			Ad..H				Ar..H	
		<i>γ</i>	*Aad			*ad..H				ar..H	
OBL. + obl.	10		d	dr	r	d..					
	11		ad	adr	ar	d..h	ad..	dr..h	adr..		ar..
	12		aad			ad..h				ar..h	
OBL. + obl.'	13	<i>a</i>	d	dr'							
		<i>β</i>									
	14	<i>a</i>	ad	adr'							
		<i>β</i>	ad'	ad'r'	ar'						ar'..
	15	<i>β</i>	aad'							ar'.h	
		<i>γ</i>								a'r'..h	

This table can be rendered more complete, seeing that I have left out many possible types the actuality of which I cannot prove. I have put down the uncertain types only (a) when they are alternative, so that out of two at least the one must be right, and (b) when, through proved analogues or otherwise, they appear fairly probable.

In types 1—3 the idea common to the two clauses has, in both of them, such functions as are regularly expressed by the nom. In 4—6 the common idea has in the main clause a function usually expressed by an obl. case, in the rel. clause a function usually expressed by the nom. In 7—9, on the contrary, it has in the main clause a function usually expressed by the nom., in the rel. clause a function usually expressed by an obl. case. In 10—12 it has, in both clauses, such functions as are expressed by the same obl. case. In 13—15 it has functions usually expressed by different obl. cases.

§ 8. The A-types. In 1, 4, 7, 10, 13 the common idea is expressed only once. I will call them »semel-types». In 2, 5, 8, 11, 14 the common idea is expressed twice. I call them »bis-types». In 3, 6, 9, 12, 15 it is expressed thrice.

§ 9. A 1. *Gearo wæs se him geoce gefremede* Dan. 233. *þa ðæt gehyrde sio þær hæledum scead* El. 709. *on ælcum lande ne licad þæt on oþrum licap* Bo. 98: 26. *Siððan wocan þa þæs cynnes cneowrim icton* Gen. 1065. It is very probable that *se*, *seo*, *þæt*, *þa* in these and similar ex:s were felt as belonging to the latter verb, or, in other terms, that they were no longer accentuated dem:s, but unaccentuated rel:s. But as we cannot be certain in each special instance, especially not with regard to the oldest, I am not in favour of the insertion of commas in editions not intended for beginners. The same holds good of other doubtful cases.

§ 10. A 2. *Ðæt is Andreas se me on flited* Andr. 1199. *þis is seo wyrt seo wiþ wyrm gefeaht* Zaub. 4: 18. *þæt treow sceolde . . afeallan þæt ær fæste stod* Dan. 557. *þæt ða hildlatan holt ofgefan . . ða ne dorston ær dæredum lacan* Beow. 2848.

§ 11. A 3. *ðæt se hie him niedscylde sceolde se se hie him sealde* (that he who gave it him, owed it to him as a bounden duty) Cp. 57: 7. *þæt hit ne sy dægcuð þæt þæt dihle wæs* Jüng. 40. Cf. *pych . . þat heo schulle habbe þere*. *þeo þat ledeþ heore lyf vnwreste* Sp. I 17 A: 242.

§ 12. A 4.

a) *Ic seah . . on flet beran . . rode tacn þæs us to roderum up hlædre rærde* Räts. 56: 5. *sceolde on wite . . libban swa hwa swa gebyrgde þæs on þam beame geweoð* Gen. 483. *segn eac genom, beacna beorhtost, bill ærgescod . . ealdhlaforðes þam* (from him who) *ðara maðma mundbora wæs* Beow. 2779. *Treow wæs getenge þam þær torhtan stod leafum bihongen* Räts. 57: 9. *lisce*

selle, wilna wæstme þam (to those who) *þe wurdiað* Gen. 1758. *wuna þæm þe agon* (dwell with those who own thee) Gen. 2293. CC 141. In these ex:s the pron. is distinctly in the case required by the verb in the main clause. I do not believe that anything is »omitted», nor »attracted». Alterations into *þe, þæs þe, þam þe* (cf. BAP notes) are unjustifiable. — There is one passage in »A Moral Ode» (Sp. I 17 A: 93) which, perhaps, should be explained as analogous to these. Where the earlier text (Trinity MS) has *Hwat sulle we seggen oðer don þar ængles beð ofdradde. Hwat sulle we beren us biforen mid hwan sulle we iqueme We þe nafre god ne duden þan heuenliche deme*, the later version runs *We þat neuer god ne duden. þen heueneliche demep. Hwat schulle seggen oþer don etc. Demep* rhymes with *ledep*. The editors remark: »Demep for deme, judge. The arrangement of the Trinity MS. gives better sense». This explanation seems to me little satisfactory. I suggest the translation: »we that never did good to (before) Him, who judges in a heavenly way» etc.

b) *seegan þæt soð is* LS 14: 3. *sue hit soelest sie for ða hit begetan* Chart. 38: 11. Here the forms of the pron:s are identical in both the cases required (nom. and acc.).

§ 13. A 5. Distinctly to *α*: *wæs . . oðrum swiðor side rice þam ðær selra wæs* Beow. 2199. *is þara anra gehwam orgeate tacen þam þurh wisdom woruld ealle con behabban on hreþre* Sch. 9. Distinctly to *β*: *Nu ge gehyrað hæleda gewinnan, se ðyssum herige mæst hearma gefremede* Andr. 1198. *þa forlet se cyng þa hlæfdian . seo wæs gehalgod him to cwene* ASC 317: 5. *þæt me Daniel dyglan swefnes soðe gesæde, þæt ær swiðe oðstoð manegum* Dan. 483. *Gregorius . . sende . . Augustinum . mid wel manegum munecum . þa Godes word . . god-spelledan* ASC 34 B: 33. Not distinct: *swa he þæt beacen geseah, heria hildfruma, þæt him on hefonum ær geiewed weard* El. 101. *gesawon . . nicras licgean ða on undernmæl oft bewitigað sorhfulne sið* Beow. 1428.

§ 14. A 6. *ðu forspildes hie ða ða spreocað leasunge* VP 5: 7. We cannot reasonably suppose *hie* to be anything but acc., nor the second *ða* to be anything but nom. But the first *ða* is ambiguous.

§ 15. A 7. *eadig ðone ðu gecure* (Beatus quem eligisti) VP 64: 5. *eadge ðeara forletne sind unrehtwisnisse* (Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates) VP 31:1. These are, in the A-semel-types, the only ex:s noticed by me in which the pron. is distinctly governed by a word in the rel. clause. — *soð is þæt ic secge* ASR 16: 39.

§ 16. A 8. a) *bið . . se hwæteadig wigge weorðod se þæt wicg byrð* (he shall be successful and honoured in war whom that steed bears) El. 1195. *hie god flymde se ðe* (thee) *æt feohtan . . sceolde* (shielded) *handum sinum & halegu treow seo* (the holy faith which) *þu wið rodora weard rihte healdest* Gen. 2119. These ex:s are fairly isolated in type A 8. Therefore various alterations and

far-fetched translations have been made (see BAP notes). WÜLCKER believes in »eine Auslassung des accus. des relat.» But these ex:s are not entirely isolated. We shall find analogous ex:s under A 14 (§ 22) and D 8 b (§ 48). — By the way, ASD states about *sceolde* in the last quot., that it is »without an object». This is, to say the least, not certain; cf. e. g. lines 2199, 2501, 2808 in the same piece. — **b)** Distinctly to *β*. *þæt is þæt an . . . ðæs ic . . . me onsitte* LS 23: 730. *Da wurdon ðær ameldode seofon halige men . . . ðæra naman we awriton on ðære frum-spræce* LS 23: 120. *þonne seo æftre Ethiopia land . . . beliged uton . . . þære is Geon noma* Gen. 230. *Fela halige menn . . . wæron beforan us . . . þam we . . . geenfenlæcan ne magon* LS 12: 281. *þis is se ilca . . . god, ðone . . . fæderas cuðon* Andr. 752. *Swilce is seo feorðe, þa nu . . . weras Eufreten . . . nemnað* Gen. 233. *sie him . . . swe swe gyrdels mid ðy aa sie biggyrdeð* (Fiat ei sic ut zona qua semper praecingitur) VP 108: 19. *Micel biþ se meotudes egsa, for þon hi* (reflex.) *seo molde oncyrræð* Seef. 103. — **c)** *nu scined þe leoht fore glædlic ongean þæt ic from gode brohte* Gen. 615. *sint in bocum his wundor þa he worhte, on gewritum cyðeð* El. 826.

§ 17. A 9. *Drihten ys on his halgan temple, se Drihten se þæs setl ys on heofenum* Ps. 10: 4. WÜLFING puts a (!) after the second *se*. But compared with a *se . . . se se* (§ 11), this *se . . . se þæs* does not seem so extraordinary. And cf. the following. — *butan tweon ðæt bið ure ðæt ðæt we lufiað on oðrum monnum* Cp. 232: 12. *þæt hit swiþor is of þara biscepa . . . gewyrde þæt þæt hie secgað* Or. 126: 33.

§ 18. A 10. *hu he him . . . ondwyrdan sceolde þæs he hiene ascade* Or. 126: 30. *hælon þæt hy forhelan ne mihtan* Zaub. 5 A: 13. *Heht þa tosomne þa heo seleste . . . wiste . . . to þære . . . byrig cuman* El. 1201, if, as I believe, the first *þa* is an adv. — With regard to Or. 126: 30 Bock, p. 26, speaks of an »Attraction des Relativs an sein Beziehungswort, das mit ihm nicht in gleichem Casus steht» (*þæs* = *þæs þæt*). LEHMANN, p. 32, combines *þæs* with *ondwyrdan*. WÜLFING, p. 399, admits the possibility of LEHMANN's view, but expresses as his own opinion that *þæs* is »das regelrecht von *ascade* abhängige relative Fürwort, während das hinweisende fehlt». An attraction which implies, as it were, a moving of the pron. towards the main clause, is, of course, incompatible with the theory exposed in § 2. But apart from that, there is no occasion to speak of attraction here, seeing that *ascan* can govern the gen. as well as *ondwyrdan* (Be. 568: 22, Bo. 208: 8, Ps. 48: 4, etc.). The dem. may, even from my point of view, be missing, if namely the originally dem. *þæs* governed by *ondwyrdan*, has changed into an unaccentuated rel. But what I do not consider likely is that the gen. case of the pron. should be owing to *ascade*; and this opinion of mine is based not on any theory, but on the fact that in all the A-semel-types I have, as is already stated (§ 15) found only two complexes in which the case of the pron. is distinctly owing to a word (verb or noun) in the subordinate

clause, and both of them belong to a verbal translation. See, on the other hand, the many distinct exs in § 12 a, § 21.

§ 19. A 11. *nympe ic dom wite soðan swefnes þæs min sefa myndgað* Dan. 144. *On ðone eahtategðan dæg ... (bið) ðæs halgan biscepes tid ... (& his) modor, ðære noma wæs sancte Anthiæ* Mart. 12. *ut wæs gongende to neata scipene, þara heord him wæs ... beboden* Be. 342: 26. *ic ... getimbru ðe in wege ðissum ðæm ðu ingæst (in via hac qua ingredieris)* VP 31: 8. *Meaht ðu ... mece gecnawian þone þin fæder ... bær* Beow. 2048. *he forlyst þæt lytle þæt he ær dyde* LS 12: 276. *we Ebreisce æ leornedon þa on fyrndagum fæderas cūdon* El. 398. *ic ... þe ... orlæg secge, worda gerynu, þa þu wendan ne miht* Dan. 747.

§ 20. A 12. *Ælc mon tiohhaþ him þæt to selestum goode ðæt þæt he swiþost lufað* Bo. 190: 8. *þæt hit god sæde þæt þæt hi secgað* LS 15: 118. *gecyð cræft & miht þæt þæt Caldeas ... gefrigen habbað* Dan. 328, which has been unnecessarily altered (cf. BAP note).

§ 21. A 13. *Ahsa þæs þu wille* Be. 266: 22. *ne gebelge ic me nawiht wið þe. Ac fagnige þæs þu cwyst* So. 343: 38. *se gomela gode þancode ... þæs se man gespræc* Beow. 1398. Denk. 2: 105. Red. 150. *þæt dysie folc þæs hit seldnor gesiht swiðor wundriað* Metr. 28: 66. *noldon ... hire andsware ænige secgan torngeniðlan þæs hio him to sohte* El. 568. *Hwæt wille we ... forþberan þæs we ... arefnedon* BH 25: 2. *him bið lean gearo ... þæs we her inne magon ... fremena gewinnan* Gen. 436. *nis worulðfeoh þe ic me agan wille, sceat ne scilling þæs ic on sceotendum, ðeoden mæra, þines ahredde* Gen. 2143. *ðe giena speow þæs þu ... fremman ongunne* Gen. 2811. *ne magon nan god don for þam ic þe nu sæde* Bo. 290: 12. *be þam se apostol Paulus ... cwæð* ASC 340: 30. *to eacan þan him sylf geleornod hæfde* ASC 244 note: 5. *ðætte he ne swigige ðæs þe nytwierðe sie to sprecanne, ne ðæt he ne sprece ðæt he swigian sciele* Cp. 88: 7. *wiste forworhte þa he ær wite sealde* Gen. 857. — WÜLFING, § 304, utters concerning So. 343: 38, Bo. 290: 12, and one more passage in ÆLFRED's works: »Nur an den folgenden 3 Stellen scheint mir an wirkliche Auslassung des relativen Fürwortes zu denken möglich zu sein». But in pp. 17 and 249 he advances Cp. 88: 7 in proof of the verb *swigian* governing the acc. case. However, the three passages quoted are perfectly analogous in the point under discussion. In all of them the case of the pron. is exclusively owing to a word (verb or prep.) in the main clause. The verb of the subordinate clause has nothing to do with it. If WÜLFING had duly compared those three passages, he would have found that if an omission is possible in the two, it is equally possible in the third, and that if the third proves that *swigian* governs the acc. case, the first and the second prove that *cwæðan* and *secgan* govern the gen.! — With the experience gained of the A-semel-types in general, we know what value to attribute to BOUTERWEK's note on Gen. 857 (see BAP): »für þa ist besser þam zu lesen».

Of course, the additional statement »Eigentlich müsste es heißen: *he viste þa forvorhte, þam he ær vhte sealde*» would still be very suitable in a class-book.

§ 22. A 14. To a: *þæt heo . . beteran wurdun . . wæpen gewrixles. þæs hi on wælfelda . wiþ Eadweardes afaran plegodan* ASC 206: 6. *se cyng . . þone eorl . . ealles benæmde þes he on Englalande hæfde* ASC 366: 12. *Forgif þu me . . gemynd þinga gehwylces þara þu me . . sendan wylle* Geb. 4: 23. *þe sie ealles þonc meorda & miltsa þara þu me sealdest* Geb. 4: 67. *hwonne him lifes weard . . frecenra siða reste ageafe þæra he rume dreah* Gen. 1428. — To þ: *leoducraft onleac þæs ic lustum breac* El. 1250. *God forgifit us . . wæstmas . þæra we sculon brucan* LS 11: 357. *oð Donua þa ea, þære æwielme is neah Rines ofre* Or. 14: 31. *se Ælmihtiga Hælend . . geswutelode him . . þa toweardan onwrigennysse, be ðære he awrat ða boc* ASR 14 A: 33. *þæt ðu . . wiðsæcest fæste þone ahangnan cyning, þam ðu hyrdest ær* El. 933. *æfter rime fif Moyseþ boca, ðam seo godcunde æ awriten is* Be. 26: 27. *far anen Frenciseen ceorles [ðingan]. Hugo hatte . ðone seo hlæfdige hæfde geset to gerefan* ASC 253 F: 7. *þe (who) on gemynd nime þære deorestan dægweorðunga rode* (the honouring of the day of the most precious cross) *under roderum, þa se ricesða ealles oferwealdend earne beþeakte* El. 1234. *of þam eorle woc unrim þeoda, þa nu æðelingas . . Ebrei hatað* Gen. 1647. *ðis siondan ðes landes boec et wassingwellan ðet æðelbearht cyning wullafe sealde* Chart. 28: 19. *gemyne wordes ðines ðiowe ðinum in ðon me hyht ðu saldes* (Memento verbi tui servo tuo in quo mihi spem dedisti) VP 118: 49.

§ 23. A 15. I have no old ex. Cf. *in his hond, His, that Hauelok was the name* Sp. I 18: 727.

§ 24. The B-types. Here in 1, 4, 7, 10, 13 the common idea is expressed by two words (»bis-types»), in 2, 5, 8, 11, 14 by three words (»ter-types»).

§ 25. B 1. *fremme se þe wille* Beow. 1003. *Alse wel se (as well as) þe þe hæuē goldes fele manke* Sp. I 17 B: 70. *oft buton synne bið doen þætte of synne cymēð* Be. 80: 1. *Flugon ða ðe lyfdon laðra linde* Jud. 297.

§ 26. B 2. *Eart þu se Beowulf se þe wið Brecan wunne* Beow. 506. *To þam us læde þe leofæ drihten Crist. þe þe is soð wisdom* LS Notes p. 544. *Eadig is heora yld seo ðe . . moste for Criste þrowian* ASR 14 B: 111. *Is nu fela folca þætte fyrngewritu healdan wille* Lehr. 67. *feormend swefað þa ðe beadogriman bywan sceoldon* Beow. 2257. — *is soð æall þætte soð is* So. 334: 13. *þone heahan dæg . . freoðiaþ ealle þa ðe cunnon cristene þeawas* Glor. 28. Cf. § 71.

§ 27. B 3. *hu dear se gripan on ða scire . . se se þe hiene selfne hiwcudne ne ongit* Gode Cp. 62: 9.

§ 28. B 4. *se hit on his sawale nas on ðes (not on his) ðe hit don het* Chart. 39: 15. *ne bysna þe be nanum þæra þe yfel don* Ps. 36: 8 (§ 76 a).

betux þære ie Indus & þære þe be westan hiere is Or. 10: 20. *Wel bið þam þe him are seceð* Wand. 114. *þone ylcan -sige God behet eallum þam ðe hine lufian wyllað* Be. 40: 6; cf. § 71. *ge wergdon þane þe eow . . lysan þohte* El. 294. — *Do a þætte duge!* Lehr. 4. *Nu ge . . findaþ gen þa þe fyrngewritu . . cunnen* El. 373.

§ 29. B 5.

a) Distinctly to *a*. *Ingild was Ines broþur. Westseaxna cyninges . þæs þe eft ferde to Sancte Petre* ASC 126: 13. *se was ordfruma earmre lafe þære þe þam hæðenan hyran sceolde* Dan. 153. *oð þæt hie burga gehwone abrocen hæfdon þara þe þam folce to friðe stodon* Dan. 64 (§ 77 a). *þær is ar gelang fira gehwylcum þam þe hie findan cann* Andr. 980. *nanum oðrum buton þam þam þe geclænsode beoð* So. 334: 7. *heriað . . Drihten þone ðe eardað on Sion* Ps. 9: 11. — In *ne ge mætinge mine ne cunnon þa þe me for werode wisdom bered* Dan. 142, BOUTERWEK altered *bered* into *berað* on account of the supposed plur. *þa þe*. DIETRICH, in HAUPT's Zeitschr. X: 332, objects to any alteration. So do I, but for quite another reason. DIETRICH has, indeed, sufficiently proved, that in subordinate clauses with the verb in the subjunctive mood, it is not altogether rare to find a sing. verb after a plur. subj.; in other clauses it happens less frequently. But when he adduces Gen. 204 (§ 63) and Dan. 142 in proof of the plur. rel. *þa þe* as subj. being followed by a verb in the sing., I cannot agree with him. Both those passages are too uncertain to be used as proofs. Concerning Gen. 204 see WÜLCKER in BAP, who, by the way, renders DIETRICH's argument quite wrongly. In Dan. 141—142 I decidedly prefer taking *mætinge mine* and the following *þa* to be in the acc. sing. My reasons are: 1) in lines 110, 118, 126, 144 we find *swefnas*, in 165 *swefen . . þæt*; nowhere more than one dream is spoken of; 2) *bered* is in the sing.; 3) only a few lines after the passage under discussion we have a distinct ex. of type B 5 *a* (see above), not to mention 16 and 64, where the common *þara þe* is used in the same construction. None of these reasons would, of course, be sufficient, if there were anything to prove the reverse. But I can find nothing. At all events the passage can hardly be built upon for the purpose for which DIETRICH uses it.

b) Distinctly to *β*. *ic bidde ðone waldend, se ðe ðas woruld gesceop* Zaub. 1: 62. *utan biddan . . God ðe ðe eardian. deþ þa anmodan in his fæder huse* Be. ed. SMITH 502: 18 (WÜLFING § 294; ed. MILLER: *se ðe*). *Se halga sang geswutelad þa halgan þrynnysse . . seo ðe æfre wæs* LS 15: 217. *werigra wite minsode, þa ðe ðy worce gefægon* Dan. 268. In the last quot. GREIN alters *þa* into *þara*, thus substituting type *a* for type *β*, just as DIETRICH in Dan. 142 (a) practically substitutes *β* for *a*. It is true, that *þara þe* is a very common collocation (§§ 75—85). It is also true, that in such ex:s where *þara þe* (*þe* representing a nom.) and *þa þe* (likewise in the nom.) have for ant. a noun in the gen. plur., the former seems to be more frequent than the latter. (In my collection of ex:s

there are 17 *þara þe* to 8 *þa þe*.) But this is no reason for going against the evidence of the MS. And if we look at the B-ter-types at large, the number of distinct *a*-ex:s and that of distinct *β*-ex:s seem to be about the same. (My collection gives very nearly the proportion 17: 17; B 5 alone gives 14: 17; so do the three types (5, 8, 14) together, if *þara þe* and *þa þe* are left out of account. When NADER, p. 472, speaks of the »seltene fälle, in denen das relative *se* in der konstruktion des nebensatzes steht», he has only Beow. in view.)

c) *geþeode . . þæt æðele cyn . . þæt þe eft forward Klag. 21. bebead . . wundor godes þætte on þam cnihtum gecyðed wæs Dan. 472. se deað . . asundrað þa sibbe. þa þe ær somud wæron Red. A: 4.*

§ 30. B 7. *An soð God is se ðe Iohannes wurðað ASR 14 A: 272. (þar inne beð) þo þe (those to whom) oðer mannes wif was lief Sp. I 17 B: 261.*

§ 31. B 8. Distinctly to *α*: *þæt hit is wuldres beam se ðe ælmihtig god on þrowode Trgs. 98. hie cwædan . . ðæt se an wære soð God se þe Martinus hyrde BH 223: 1. Distinctly to β: him arn on last . . genip, þam þe se þeoden self sceop nihte naman Gen. 139. se wæs Hroþgare hæleþa leofost . . , rice randwiga, þone ðe heo . . abreot Beow. 1298. Not distinct: beoð wunda onwrigene þa ðe on worulde ær . . men . . geworhton Red. B: 90.*

§ 32. B 10. *ongunnon ealle . . biddan þæs ðe he bæd ASR 9: 37. ðonne fægnaþ hi þæs þe hi sceamian sceolde Bo. X: 25. tyðiað me þæs ðe ic gyrne LS 23: 581. gif ge scyld on eow . . witen ðæs ðe eow . . man tihð Durh. 10. ðæt he sie witerwinna . . ðæs þe he bið gesewen ðeow Cp. 146: 17. donne abirst ðær hwilum hwæthwugu ut ðæs þe he swugian sceolde Cp. 164: 16. ic geseah hwæt hwugu þæs þe ic æt ham beforfte So. 332: 6. ðylæs he mislicige ðæm þe he hiene ær selfne gesealde Cp. 130: 2. nefne god sylfa . . sealde þam ðe he wolde . . hord openian Beow. 3055. he hæfð ðætte he habban wolde Cp. 56: 4. se cyng him nolde agifan þæt þe he . . uppon him genumen hæfde ASC 367: 33. lære mon siððan furður . . þa þe mon furðor læran wille. Cp. 6: 14. helle king is ore-leas wið þo þe he mai binden Sp. I 17 B: 220. — WÜLFING, § 281 b, remarks concerning Bo. X: 25: »man kann hier auch an Auslassung des hinweisenden Fürwortes denken und *þæs þe* als relatives Fürwort zusammenziehen». This is in unison with his explanation of Or. 126: 30, § 18. That I should have but little faith in such an acceptance is, after what I have said there, only natural. The B-bis-types are even still more decidedly against it than the A-semel-types, as, amongst the former, I have not found a single instance of the pron. being distinctly governed by a word in the rel. clause. For ex:s like Cp. 164: 16 and So. 332: 6 (see above) do not count. WÜLFING, p. 17, uses indeed the former in proof of *swugian* governing the gen. case. But he himself adds: »ðæs könnte allerdings auch als Gen. des hinweisenden Fürwortes zu *hwæthwugu* gehören, und dann wäre fraglich ob ðe Genit. ist». Concerning So. 332: 6 he is not quite*

consistent with himself. First, p. 26, he uses it in proof of *beþurfan* governing the gen. case, adding in a parenthesis: »nicht ganz sicher, da *þæs* nur zu *hw.* gehören kann» (where »nur» appears to be a slip for »auch»). Then, p. 406, he declares: »ich ziehe *þæs* zu *hwæthwugu*, doch kann man es auch mit *þe* verbinden». The by far more probable acceptation is the one to which he gives the preference in p. 406. At any rate, in dozens of similar complexes it is the only one possible (see the fourth and fifth quot:s in § 34), whereas no instance has been found where the other is necessary. — In *þa weard redemod rices ðeoden, unhold þeoden, þam þe ahte geaf* (with those to whom He had given possessions) Dan. 34, WÜLCKER, like GREIN and KÖLBING, alters *þe* into *he*. I find this emendation unnecessary; cf. DIETRICH in HAUPT's Zeitschr. XI: 440. The analogous Gen. 2264 (§ 34) is left unaltered. Why not substitute, also there, a pers. pron. for *ðe*? The circumstance that in the latter passage the two clauses require different cases of the dem.-rel., makes no essential difference (see the A-semel-types). Cf. Gen. 102, Ex. 500.

§ 33. B. 11. *Ne gelyfe ic me nu þæs leohtes furðor þæs þe he* (o: God) *him þenceð lange neotan* Gen. 401. *he awende cristes boc . . to læden-spræce on þære ðe we leorniað* LS 15: 110. *ne wealdaþ hi þeah eallra þara þe hi wealdan woldon* Bo. 160: 4; cf. §§ 71, 84. *he hlynode uppan his breosté . on ðam þe wæs behyd [eall] se heofonlica wisdom* LS 15: 161. *byre . . þone maðþum byræð þone þe ðu mid rihte rædan sceoldest* Beow. 2056. *læt þinne sefan healdan . . frean domas þa þe her . . men forlætaþ . . asigan* Lehr. 74. SWEET, in his note on ASR 22: 156, says with regard to the first of these quot:s: »*þæs þe*, by attraction, instead of the accusative». This is a statement comparable to Bock's remark on Or. 126: 30 (§ 18). In all probability both *gelyfan* and *neotan* here take the gen. At all events I fail to see anything that could prove the reverse, or even make it probable.

§ 34. B. 13. *simle wilnað ðæs ðe he begitan ne mæg* Bo. 160: 20. *him þancian æfre ðæs þe he him forgeaf* ASR 13: 80. (*Agar*) *þolian ne wolde . . ondlean þæs ðe* (retribution for that which she) *ær dyde to Sarran* Gen. 2264. *Gif ðu . . ofðence hwæthugu ðæs þe ðin niehsta ðe wiðerweardes gedon hæbbe* Cp. 348: 10. *ne forholen nanuht þæs ðe ic age* Zaub. 5 C: 1. *sunu Dauides . . getimbrede tempel . . mæst & mærost þara þe manna bearn . . geworhte* Ex. 395 (§ 82). *Weras . . wibed setton neah þam þe Abraham æror rærde* Gen. 1883. *ic geseah on ðæm þe ic læran sceolde ealle . . geðohtas* Cp. 154: 7.

§ 35. B. 14. To α: *Me ece sealde sunu . . on leofes stæl þæs þe Cain ofsloh* Gen. 1114. *Him wæs . . gold estum geeawed . . , healsbeaga mæst þara þe ic on foldan gefrægen hæbbe* Beow. 1196 (§ 83). *he wyrcean ongan woh on felda þam þe deormode Diran heton* Dan. 171. *þær ic . . beleas herum þam þe ic hæfde* Räts. 27: 5. To β: *werum gielded gaful geara gehwam, þæs þe guman*

brucað Räts. 33: 12. *welhwylc gecwæð þæt he . . secgan hyrde . . , wide siðas, þara þe gumena bearn gearwe ne wiston* Beow. 878 (§ 85). *swa swa heo bidende wære his ondsware, þone þe heo geseah* Be 290: 17. *Hwet sellu ic dryhtne fore allum ða ðe* (pro omnibus quae) *he salde me* VP 115: 12.

§ 36. The C-types.

C 1. *þa wæs eadfynde þe him elles hwær gerumlicor ræste rymde* Beow. 138.

C 2. *se wearð ablend þe hine beheafdode* LS 19: 129.

C 4. (*se engel*) *hæfde . . gewurðod ðe* (those who) *þa gewyrhto ahton* Dan. 444. (*crist*) *giemeð þe his bien* Sp. I 17 B: 80.

C 5. *Wær ðu gewurðod . . for þæs eagum þe ðe æsca tir . . , forgeaf* Gen. 2108.

C 7. *þar-inne beð þe* (those to whom) *was to lef wreche men to swenche* Sp. I 17 B: 254.

C 8. *Ðu eart se ætela, þe on ærdagum ealra femnena wyn fægere akende on Bethlehem* Geb. 3: 25.

C 10. *þæt ðu mæge þy bet gelyfan ðe* (what) *ic þe . . recce* Bo. 272: 21.

C 11. *Ine . . ofsloh Eadbryht þone æþeling. þe he ær utflymde* ASC 73: 30.

C 14. *þa ferde se godspellere . . to ðam geleaffullum ðe he ær lærde* LS 15: 36.

§ 37. The D-types. In the a-bis- and in the ter-types the idea expressed once or twice at the beginning of the complex is repeated after the rel. clause, usually by means of a pers. or dem. pron., sometimes in the shape of a noun (with adjuncts). Subordinative conj:s are repeated at the same time, coordinative conj:s only very seldom. Sometimes the [part of the] main clause [which follows on the rel. clause] is introduced by *þonne* or *swa* (§§ 39, 53).

§ 38. D 1. *se eardað in heofenum bismereð hie* (Qui habitat in caelis inridebit eos) VP 2: 4. *sie monge hefde bearn geuntrumad wes* (quae multos habebat filios infirmata est) VH 4: 11. *nalæs þæt ingangæþ on muþ mannan besmiteþ* Be. ed. SMITH 494: 33 (WÜLFING). *ða swencað me gefiað* (Qui tribulant me exultabunt) VP 12: 5.

§ 39. D 2 a. *se doeoð ðas ne bið he onstýred* (Qui facit haec non commovebitur) VP 14: 5. *þæt leof wæs ær, hit byð lað þonne* Jüng. B. 243. *þæt þær to lafe wearð þara Thelescisa hi hiora lond ofgeafan* Or. 32: 19, where the sing. rel., referring to a multitude of individuals, is followed by a pers. pron. in the plur. (WÜLFING, § 285, terms this an »unregelmässigkeit».) *ða astigað sae . . hie gesegun werc dryhtnes* (Qui discendunt mare . . Ipsi viderunt opera Domini) VP 106: 23. — *Se to anra ðara burga gefliht, ðonne mæg he beon orsorg* Cp. 166: 19 (§ 190).

§ 40. D 2 b. *se mann se to londe foe agefe . . XIII pund* Chart. 41: 68. *seo herepad sio æt hilde gebad . . bite irena, brosnæð æfter beorne* Beow. 2258.

þæt folc eal þæt þær to lafe wæs þara landleoda beag to Eadwearde ASC 195 A: 8.
ða witan þa on Lundene wæron . . gecuron Eadmund ASC 278 C: 43.

§ 41. D 3. *se se þe (thee) lufað. se þe sæcð* So. 334: 27. *þæt se mon-dryhten se eow ða maðmas geaf . . þæt he . . gutgewædu . . forwurpe* Beow. 2865. & *Ætelswyð cwen. seo wæs Ælfredes swustor cyninges. & heo forðferde. & hire lic ligð æt Pauian. & . . & . .* ASC 159 D: 25. *Mast al þat me likede ar nu hit me mislicað* Sp. I 17 B: 13; cf. § 71. *Sume ða ða wenað ðæt hie eatmode sien, hii doð . .* Cp. 301: 26. Cf. *He that wile non forbere . . Deth him tok* Sp. I 18: 352.

§ 42. D 4. *þæt on Lindese geworden wæs . . we geleornodon* Be. 4: 21. *þæt ofer si & to lafe, sellap ælnessan* (quod superest date eleemosynam) Be. ed. SMITH 489: 29 (WULFING). Cf. *þat ti wil is: wurch nu* Sp. I 8: 94.

§ 43. D 5 a. *se his ferwerne . . se him seald . . helle wite* Chart. 40: 22. *Se þe mast doð nu to gode and se last (o: doð) to lothe. Eider to litel and to muchel hem sal þunche boðe* Sp. I 17 B: 61.

§ 44. D 5 b. *from temple ðinum ðæt is in Hierusalem ðe ofredun cyn-ingas gefe* (a templo tuo quod est in H. tibi offerent reges munera) VP 67: 30. — *his stiward Willelm hatte. se wæs his modrian sunu. het se cyng on rode ahon* ASC 362: 35. *ða ða usic fiedon ðu gsteadelaðes* (eos qui nos oderunt confudisti) VP 43: 8.

§ 45. D 6. Distinctly to β : *Eufrate þa ea seo is . . irnende þurh . . Babylonia burg, he hie . . on monige ea upp forlet* Or. 74: 2. Distinctly to γ : *se man se ðis healdan wille . . se him seald . . sia hiabenlice b[*l*]edsung* Chart. 40: 20. Cf. *And he ðat ðise lettres wrot, God him helpe weli mot* Sp. I 15: 2527. *þat he þat þis wryt wrot. his saule beo þer atholde* Sp. I 17 A: 390. Not distinct: *ealle þa ðing þa wæron wiðinne mynstre & wiðuten. eall he scolde hem betæcen* ASC 381: 14. Cf. *þeo þat cristene weren: derfliche droh ham to deaðe* (those who were Christians, [those] he cruelly dragged to death) Sp. I 8 A: 3.

§ 46. D 7. *forhwon þonne þæt wiif þæt heo clæne mode of gecynde þrowað, sceal hire in unclænnesse geteled beon?* Be. 80: 20. *þæt he on Normandig gewunnen hæfde. syððan on sibbe . . wunode* ASC 367: 21.

§ 47. D 8 a. *þæt hie triumphan heton, þæt wæs . .* Or. 70: 22.

§ 48. D 8 b. Distinctly to α : *ðæt se monn se higon* (to whom the monks) *londes unnen to brucanne ða ilcan wisan leste on swæsendum* Chart. 42: 15. Distinctly to β : *mon sibbe minre in ðæm ic gehyhte* (homo pacis meae in quo sperabam) . . *gemonigfaldade wið me gescrencednisse* VP 40: 10. *geheftednis ða gedegladon* (captio quam occultaverunt) *gegripeð hie* VP 34: 8. — Not distinct: *þæt feoh þæt hi hæfdon ðær on heora seodum. læg eac mid þam halgum* LS 23: 261. Possibly to γ : *godas ða hie ne cutun niowinga cwomun to ðæm* (deos quos non noverunt novi recentes venerunt) VH 7: 33.

§ 49. D 9. *nē wyrgendras. þæra muð bið . . mid . . wyrgunge afylled. ne reaferas. nabbað hi næfre godes rice* LS 17: 42. — *þæt þæt we wyrð hataþ. þæt biþ Godes weorc* Bo. 336: 7. *eall þæt he forsceamode . . , þæt bið þonne . . open* Jüng. B: 140; cf. § 71. *stan ðone widcurun timbrende ðes geworden is in heafud hwommes* (Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est caput anguli) VP 117: 22.

§ 50. D 10. *ðone ðu sloge hie oechtende werun* (quem tu percussisti ipsi persecuti sunt) VP 68: 27. *þæt ic be . . Cudþyrhte wrat . . , sume ic ærest nom of þam gewritum* Be. 4: 28. *cyðeras unrehte ða ic nysse frugnon mec* (testes iniqui quæ ignorabam interrogabant me) VP 34: 11.

§ 51. D 11 a. *þæt ic eow . . ær sæde þæt ilce ic eow nu secge* LS 23: 449. *þa ðu . . geceose þa ðu togædre gesomna* Be. 66: 26.

§ 52. D 11 b. *in wege ðissum on ðæm ic ymbgongu ahyd[d]un girene me* (In via hac qua ambulabam absconderunt laqueos mihi) VP 141: 4. *tungan ða ne wiste geherde* (Linguam quam non noverat andivit) VP 80: 6. *þæt feoh þæt hi ær læfdon hi mid heom . . hæfdon* LS 23: 213.

§ 53. D 12. *þæt þæt we . . agylton, þæt we nu . . behreowsiað* ASR 14 A: 200. *al þat we gieueð for godes lue al we hit sulen eft finden* Sp. I 17 B: 58; cf. § 71. Cf. *Eall þæt þa beon* (bees) *dragen toward swa frett þa drane* ASC 378: 23.

§ 54. The E-types. — E 1. *seðe hwider faran wille . singe his paternoster* LS 17: 96. *Nales þætte ingonged in muð monnan besmiled* Be. 80: 8. *ða þe cristes synd cwylniað heora flæsc* LS 17: 61.

§ 55. E 2 a. *se casere . . bead þæt . . se þe hi ameldode þæt se wære mycelre mede wyrðe* LS 23: 51. *Ðe þe wille fullice anweald agan . he sceal tilian . .* Bo. 164: 21. *eall þet þe Gode wæs lað . . eall þet wæs gewunelic on þisan lande* ASC 364: 37; cf. § 71. *þa ðe . . wuniað in wuldre, ða þec wurdiað* Dan. 366.

§ 56. E 2 b. *Æðelnoð munuc . se þe wæs decanus æt Cristes cyrcan . wearð . . to biscope gehalgod* ASC 286 D: 17. *ðæt mod ðætte wilnað fore oðre bion liht him selfum* Cp. 54: 14.

§ 57. E 3. *se se þe wolde þæt hiene mon sende, he geseah ær hiene clæn-sian* Cp. 48: 24. *Seo ilce burg Babylonia seo ðe mæst wæs . . , seo is nu læst* Or. 74: 22. *Ure ieldran ða þe ðas stowa ær hieldon, hie lufedon wisdom* Cp. 4: 14. — Great is the redundancy in: *And he ða ure hælend se þe unborennum cildum lif sylð . . he sylf . . þas seofon halgon þe on ðam scræfe slepon he hi anwehte ða of ðæm slepe* LS 23: 429.

§ 58. E 4. *se þe* (to him who) *him hyrsum beon wolde, buton tweon he gehet ecne gefean* Be. 58: 6. — *ðætte ofer seo & to lafe, sellað ælmesse* Be. 66: 13. *ða ðe forðgað of weolerum minum ic ne do to bismere* (quæ procedunt de

labiis meis non faciam irrita) VP 88: 35. *þa þe* (those ships which) *þær stælcwyrde wæron binnan Lundenbyrig gebrohton* ASC 174: 6.

§ 59. E 5 a. *Se þe* God ne ongit, ne ongit God hine Cp. 28: 3. *se þe* (= any one = all) *þæt nolde, he bebed þæt mon þa ealle sloge* Or. 248: 25; cf. Or. 32: 19 (§ 39) and § 190. Cf. *þe þat mest doþ nu to gode . and te þe leste to laþe. Eyþer to lutel and to muchel . schal þunchen heom eff[t] baþe* Sp. I 17 A: 62. — & *þætte tælwierðes on him sie, ðæt hie ðæt tælen* Cp. 194: 24. *ahne ða ðe ðec fiodon god ic fode hie* (Nonne qui te oderunt Deus oderam illos) VP 138: 21. *þo þe silden hem ne cunnen ich hem wille tache* Sp. I 17 B: 305.

§ 60. E 5 b. *wit þæm þa ðe in oðre wisan don woldon, he wæs . . on-bærned* Be. 346: 19.

§ 61. E 6. *Ac se se þe unwærlice . . hiewð . . him bið niedðearf ðæt he fleo* Cp. 166: 16.

§ 62. E 8 a. *þa ðe hi iu cutan . . , þa eft . . geedniwode wæron* Be. 466: 21. Cf. *uppen þan þe hit faled : he* (he on whom the lot falls) *scal uaren of londe* LA3. A: 13859, which distinctly belongs to β; cf. Be. ed. SMITH 472: 33 (§ 68).

§ 63. E 8 b. *feorheaceno cynn ða ðe flod weccet . . inc hyrað eall* Gen. 204, if *weccet* means »procreat», or, at any rate, *flod* is the subj.; cf. § 29 a.

§ 64. E 11 a. *þætte seo sawl . . þrowiende wæs, þæt se lichoma . . fore-tacnode* Be. 216: 15.

§ 65. E 11 b. *us þam þe* God swa micle heanesse . . *forgifen hafað, is seo mæste ðearf . .* Di. 68: 6. *ðæt þætte oðre men unaliefedes doð he sceal wepan* Cp. 60: 16. *sumu ða þe ic sylf ongitan mihte . . , ic tocyte* Be. 4: 31.

§ 66. The F-types. — F 1. *þe nan ne heafde stearf of hungor* ASC 376: 23.

F 2 a. *þe muchel folged his iwil him selfen he biswicað* Sp. I 17 B: 14.

F 2 b. *sum hæden mann þe him swyðost onwann awedde* LS 22: 131.

F 3. *þæt þa halgan weras, þe gode weorc beodon, þæt hi wurdfulle wæron* ASR 13: 8. Cf. *þa oðre cristenan þe ðær ge-hyðde wæron þa hi swilce yrmða ge-hyrdon . hi biterlice . . heofodon* LS 23: 64.

§ 67. F 4. *eac swa some þe hire on wurdon atydrede, tionleg nimeð* (likewise those who were created in it, i. e. in the world, destructive fire seizes) El. 1277.

F 5 a. *þe mugen and nelled þider cume hit hem mai ofþunche* Sp. I 17 B: 374.

F 5 b. *ofer israhela folc þe on god belyfde næs nan eorðlic cynincg* LS 18: 5. *ealle þa cyngas þe on þyssum iglande wæron he gewylde* ASC 199: 24.

F 6. *Ða gimeleasan menn þe . . swa geendodon, heora gemynd is forgiten* ASR 13: 12. *ðæt suæ (h)welc mon ðe mine gemynd . . doe, ðonne afierr ðu from þæs monnes husum (æ)lce untrymnesse* Mart. 47. *þæt ilce geþanc and seo sylfe*

carfulnyss þe heom amang þam niht-slaepe wæs on heora heortan . eall þa hi awacodon hi þæt sylfe gepohton LS 23: 441. — *Ðas land & ealla þa oðre þe lin into þe mynstre . þa cwede ic scyr* ASC 220 note: 24.

§ 68. F 8 b. *se steorra þe hi . . gesawon glad him beforan* ASR 14 B: 26.

F 9. Distinctly to β : *se casere þe ðu embe axast . he wæs gefyrn worulde* LS 23: 727. Cf. *Cirus, Persa cyning, þe we ær beforan sægdon, þa hwile ðe Sabini & Romane wunnon on þam westdæle, þa hwile wonn he . . on Scippie Or.* 72: 22. Distinctly to γ : *ic bidde, þæt to eallum ðe ðis ylce stær becyme . . , þæt hi . .* Be. ed. SMITH 472: 33 (WULFING); cf. § 118 C. Not distinct: *Al þe blisse þe me us bihat al hit sal ben god one* Sp. I 17 B: 368.

§ 69. F 11 b. *ymb min lond þe ic hæbbe . . is min willa . . ðæt . .* Chart. 41: 3.

F 12. *þæt mære mynster þe Æpelstan . . ær let getimbrian . þæt hig beriptan* ASC 324 C: 24.

§ 70. F 14 b. *far þare sarnesse ðe he hæfde far þes cinges ungeleauon . he hæfde gemynt eal þis land farlætan* ASC 41 F: 9.

F 15. To β : *On ealre þære race þe we habbað awend witodlice on Englisc, on þam mann mæg gehiran hu . .* ASR 13: 247. To γ : *ðæt ðæm Gode, þe wit somod on eorðan ðeowdon — ðæt wit eac somod moton to heofenum beran his gife* Be. 372: 9. *ðætte ðæm monnum ðe we for geðylde hwæt forberan sculon, ðæt we hie sculon eac milde mode lufian* Cp. 222: 6. *ðætte se lareow ðæs yfles þe he stieran sceolde . . ðæt he hit ðonne nat* Cp. 242: 2.

Various remarks on the Types.

§ 71. In *fore allum ða de* (pro omnibus quae) *he salde me* VP 115: 12 it is certain that *eallum* is the ant. of the following pron. In *blissien alle ða* (omnes qui) *gehyhtað in ðe* VP 5: 12, *on an niht forbærnde . . eall þet þær innæ wæs* ASC 345: 42, we are inclined to take *alle*, *eall* to be ant:s. In *mid eallum þam þe he begytan mihte* ASC 332: 2 we should, but for our experience of the α -types, unhesitatingly declare *eallum* to be an adjunct to *þam*, this word being the ant. of *þe*. In *eall þet þe Gode wæs lað . . eall þet wæs gewunelic on þisan lande* ASC 364: 37, it is certain that the second *eall*, and probable that the first *eall*, qualifies the following pron. Thus it is often hard to decide whether a complex belongs under type 1 or type 2, under type 4 or type 5, and so forth. Cf. TOMANETZ, p. 5, who is inclined always to consider the OHG *al* etc. a qualification of the following pron. — Also *sume þa*, *sume þa þe*, etc., can sometimes be understood in different ways.

§ 72. Decidedly to the B-bis-types belong complexes like the following, although they do not seem to have been thoroughly analyzed and understood

by some authors. *þa gebudon him Perse þæt hie hæfden III winter sibbe wiþ hie, se þe þæt wolde, & se þe þæt nolde, þæt hie wolden þa mid gefeohte gesecan* Or. 94: 24. *þæt eall mancyynn ða þe gelyfað on god is gebletsod on his cynne* LS 16: 27. LS 13: 285; 16: 111. ASC 278: 6.

The ant. of a non-restrictive clause has exactly the same sphere as the rel. The ant. of a restrictive clause expresses by itself no definite idea. Now, in the above quot:s, *hie* and *se þe* have not the same sphere, nor have *manncynn* and *þa þe*. On the other hand, *hie* is not used like a dem. pron. which only together with the rel. clause expresses a definite idea. It is a pers. pron. and refers to exactly the same individuals as the preceding *him*. In the same way *manncynn* by itself expresses quite a definite idea. Hence we must conclude that *hie* and *manncynn* are no ant:s at all. Gramatically *se þe* and *þa þe* are parallel to *hie* and *manncynn*, and logically they imply restrictions or modifications of the ideas expressed by those words. The sense is »that the Persians would have peace with those amongst them who wanted it» or »with them, if they wanted it» (§ 190), and »that (not the whole mankind but) out of mankind those who believe in God are blessed etc.» To speak here of »Unregelmässigkeit in der Zahl» seems to me somewhat superficial (WÜLFING § 288). We can very well say even to day: »they can come in — any one who likes». Cf. *þus may men se, wha-so can, What þe condicions er af an ald man* Sp. II 10: 804. Cf. also § 142 B Note, § 153.

§ 73. In *He hæfde eahta & eahtatig coortana, þæt we nu truman hatað* Or. 240: 32, and *Romane cūron III hund cempa & siex, þæt sceolde to anwige gangan* Or. 72: 15, the connection of the rel. with the preceding words is rather loose. I translate: »he had 88 cohorts (or) what we now call bands» (cf. Bock, p. 26, who wants to »ergänzen» *an þing, an wiht*, or some similar expression; in OE *an þing* in such a position would be very odd, and *an wiht*, of course, is quite out of the question), »the Romans selected 306 warriors, what (= as much as, as great a number as) was to go into single combat.» — Cf. *gesetton hir(r)an ladteow . . þone ðe hie 'tictatores' heton* Or. 70: 1, »they oppointed a higher leader, one of the kind that they called dictators.»

§ 74. As a matter of course there are sentences, particularly in translations and poetry, in which the word-order is such that we scarcely know to which type to refer them. Besides, the line drawn between types A, B, C and D, E, F (§ 7) is somewhat floating. But this is of no practical consequence. The object of the »types» was to assist us in surveying the various rel. combinations in an easy, natural, and fruitful manner. And to this object, I believe, they have answered. We have brought together what really belongs together, and, by force of facts and analogies, rejected guesses and such theories as are built on isolated ex:s. And it must be well noticed that this result is, at

least for the greater part, entirely independent of the correctness or faultiness of the whole theory set forth in § 2.

Para þe.

§ 75. In connection with the types I will enter on a minute examination of the frequent collocation *para þe*. This *para þe* has often been misunderstood, as FOX and CARDALE's translation of Bo. 158: 17 (§ 76 b) and SCHMID's translation of Le. 68: 2 (§ 78) sufficiently exemplify. WÜLFING, § 303, gives a long list of persons, who have dealt with its peculiarities. Then he sets forth his own opinion. But no one seems to me to have made the necessary distinctions. GRIMM and others give merely ex:is. HOTZ sacrifices everything to his theory of the subjunctive mood. CONRADI and KEMPF sweepingly declare that they connect *para* with the preceding clause. REUSSNER and SEYFARTH only speak of attraction of the verb to the preceding sing. B. SCHRADER says that *para* is »meistens ein durchaus müssiger, zuweilen sogar sinnloser zusatz, weshalb sich das prädikat auf *ælc* bezieht.» HOLTBUER, in Anglia VIII: 30, has sadly forgotten that the number of the verb is not dependent on the obj. of the clause. He says he has collected 2 + 6 »Beispiele,» and this WÜLFING innocently repeats. But what interest is there in knowing that the verb is in the sing. in a clause where the subj. is *þu* or *egesa*? — or that it is in the plur. where the subject is *we*? HERTEL, p. 14, makes a similar mistake. In short, the different circumstances under which *para þe* is used, have been more or less ignored. Hence the apparent lawlessness even where there is some law.

For my own part 1) I distinguish, of course, between such complexes in which (*para*) *þe* is subject, and such in which it is not. 2) I distinguish between such complexes in which *para*, or the word in the gen. plur. by which it is preceded, is connected with a non-plur. expression like *ælc* (*ælc man* etc.), *hwilc*, *gehwilc*, *æghwilc*, *manig*, *sum*, *oder*, *ænig*, *nænig*, *nan*, *hwa?*, *gehwa*, *fela*, *na ma*, a sing. superlative, a rel. pron. (§ 90), the negative *ne* (*næfre mann* etc.), — and such complexes in which *para* (*þe*), or the word in the gen. plur. by which it is preceded, either is connected with a plur. expression like *manige* (*manige menn* etc.), a plur. cardinal number, or else is governed by a verb or prep., or is an objective or possessive gen. In the former complexes the verb of the rel. clause is in the sing. or in the plur., in the latter invariably in the plur. 3) I consider that in the former complexes the use of number was originally owing, not to *para* going with the main or with the subordinate clause (WÜLFING p. 417), but to the peculiar force and accentuation of the word in each special case, and that afterwards analogies, as usual, played an important part.

What I mean is this. If, in an expression like *eadig is ælc þara þe . .*, the dem. *þara* was felt as the word to which the rel. clause was joined, then this *þara* was, originally, accentuated, and the verb, in concord with its ant., was put in the plur.: *eadig is ælc þara* (each of those; all those), *þe wise sind*. Likewise: *eadig is ælc þara manna* (each of those men; all such men), *þe* etc., or, with *þara* repeated (§ 2 B): *eadig is ælc þara manna, þara* (each of those men, of those, I say), *þe* etc., which, if *þara* lost its stress and coalesced with the rel. clause (§ 2 C), became: *eadig is ælc þara manna, þara þe wise sind* (type B 5 a, § 29 a). — If, on the other hand, in *eadig is ælc þara þe . .*, the sing. *ælc* came to be felt as the principal idea and as ant., then *þara*, losing its stress, became more or less superfluous, and the verb of the rel. clause was naturally put in the sing.: *eadig is ælc þara* (each of them, each one), *þe wis is*; *eadig is ælc þara manna* (each one amongst men; each man), *þe* etc. The superfluous *þara* easily slid over, unaltered, into the rel. clause, also there, apparently, an idle appendage: *eadig is ælc, þara þe wis is*. — By analogy this *þara þe*, having become stereotype, was used freely, in the sense of *se, se þe*, etc., when the main clause contained an *ælc, hwilc* etc.: *eadig is ælc þara manna, þara þe wis is*.

Looked on in this light, the sing. number of the verbs in the passages quoted by WÜLFING under »Einzelheiten 3,» p. 419, is not »besonders auffallend». (WÜLFING says namely: »Besonders auffallend ist die Verwendung der Einzahl beim Zeitworte des Relativsatzes dann, wenn zu *þara* ein Hauptwort im Genitiv gehört.») Quite on the contrary, in *ælc þara manna þe hine silfne ongyt he ongyt þæt . .* So. 335: 42, the sing. naturally appears also in *hine silfne* and *he*. What could, even from the point of view of modern syntactical analysis, appear strange in *ælc þara sealma* (every one of the psalms; every psalm) *þe swa gecweden byð, þæt he sy ægðer ge Dauides sealma ge Dauides sancg, ælcne ðara he sancg . .* Ps. 4: sup.? And sentences like *Hi wenaþ þæt ðara ælc sie God . ðe hiora willan fulgæþ* Bo. 344: 3, and *ælc þara moste cristendome onfon se þe wolde* Or. 268: 20, seem quite to settle the matter.

Examples.

I. (*þara*) *þe* is subj.

1. *þara* (*þe*), or the word in the gen. plur. by which it is preceded., is connected with a non-plur. expression like *ælc*.

§ 76. A. *þara* is preceded by *ælc* etc.

a) *þara* is (accentuated) ant.; the verb of the rel. clause is in the plur. (type B 4 a). *Godes wegas syndon . . rihtwisnes ælcum þara þe his æ secad* Ps. 24: 8. *ne bysna þe be nanum þara þe yfel don* Ps. 36: 8. Ps. 30: 21.

b) *Ælc* etc. is ant.; the verb of the rel. clause is in the sing. (If we eliminate *para* in the following ex:s, we get types C 1, 2, 5, F 2 b, 3, 5 b.)

swa deð ælc þæra þe þysne sealm sincgð Ps. 2: sup. *Ælc ðara ðe hiene selfne upahefed, he wierð gehiened* Cp. 298: 14. *ælcne para þe hio geacsian myhte þæt kynekynnes wæs, hio to hyre gespon* Or. 30: 29 (§ 192 B). Or. 248: 23. Cp. 74: 12; 172: 9; 298: 12; 324: 22; 358: 14; 427: 16. Bo. 52: 20; 142: 22; 150: 26; 226: 6; 254: 15; 346: 10. So. 332: 6; 346: 21; 348: 26; 353: 35. Ps. 6: sup. etc. Gen. 1522, 1531. — *ælc mon wat para ðe nu leofop þæt . .* Bo. 158: 17. *ælc wyrð bioþ god . ðara þe riht & nytwyrþe bioþ* Bo. 360: 8, where I cannot believe *bioþ* to be anything but sing.; cf. WÜLFING p. 417. Bo. 232: 4; 360: 14; 362: 3. So. 341: 2. Ps. 40: sup.

for para gylta hwylcum para þe ær geyped nære Le. 74: 6. *Ða gyt æghwylcum eorla drihten para þe mid Beowulfe brimlade teah, on þære medubence maþðum gesealde* Beow. 1051; for NADER's successive opinions of this passage see loc. cit. § 104. — *Ðas leasan spell. læraþ gehwilcne man . para þe wilnap . helle þiostra . to flionne . . þæt he . .* Bo. 264: 20.

swa he manegum deð para þe þurh oferhyd up astiged Dan. 495. — *manig esne ðara þe unricran hlaforð heft* So. 351: 24.

for oðerne mann para þe geswenced byð Ps. 30: sup.

gecnawan . . sumne para þe him ær cuð wæs LS 23: 637. — *Getæc me nu sumne mann para þe ðe geselegost þince* Bo. 48: 24.

hwæðer he geseo ænigne þæra þe hine sece Ps. 13: 3. *hwæþer þu æfre gehyrdest þæt he angum para . þe ær us wære . eallunga þurhwunode* Bo. 158: 12. Andr. 379. — *Ne wæs . . ænig biscop . . para þe rihtlice gehalgad wære* Be. 246: 20. Bo. 188: 1.

nan ær þe næs . para þe auht oððe nauht worhte Bo. 198: 23. So. 336: 28. Ps. 9: 11; 24: 2; 33: 22. — *Nis nan gesceaft gesceapen para þe ne wilnige þæt hit . .* Bo. 138: 13. *Ne mæg ic nane cwica wuht ongitan ðara þe wite hwæt hit wille* Bo. 232: 2.

Hwa sceal ðonne ðara þe hal & god ondgiet hæbbe, Gode undoncfull beon Cp. 260: 22. *Hwa is nu ðæra ðe geeceadwis sie, & to ðæm gleaw sie ðæt he swelces hwæt tocnawan cunne, ðætte nyte ðætte . .* Cp. 411: 25.

Swa wod . . geocrostne sið in godes wite ðara þe eft lifigende leode begete Dan. 618. *Eala! þu mære middangeardes seo clæneste cwen ofer eorþan para þe gewurde to widan feore* CC 277.

næs para þe hig gehælde (nec erat qui salvos faceret) Ps. 17: 39.

§ 77. B. The word in the gen. plur. by which *para* (*þe*) is preceded, is governed by *ælc* etc.

a) The word in the gen. plur. is ant.; the verb of the rel. clause is regularly in the plur. (type B 5 a). *se ælmihtiga . . lif eac gesceop cynna gehwylcum*

þara ðe cvice hwyrfaþ Beow. 98. *Nord-Denum stod atelic egesa anra gehwylcum þara þe of wealle wop gehyrdon* Beow. 785. Beow. 937. El. 1287. CC 1068. — *Myrce ne wyrndon heardes handplegan hæleþa nanum . þara ðe mid Anlafe . . land gesohtan* ASC 202 B: 37. — *oð þæt hie burga gehwone abrocen hæfdon þara þe þam folce to friðe stodon* Dan. 64. — *heora na ma ne lifde þara þe Alexandres folgeras wæron* Or. 152: 15. — *eall sio gioguð þe nu is on Angel kynne friora monna þara þe þa speda hæbben* Cp. 6: 10. — In *gelacna þu hy, lifes ealdor; forþan ðu eðest miht ealra læca ðæra þe* *gewurde side oððe wyde* Geb. 1: 7, where the superlative is adverbial, it is necessary to consider *ealra læca* as ant., and the verb ought to be *gewurden*. This only exception, however, amongst hundreds of ex:s matters little, seeing that in any kind of subordinate clause, particularly when the verb is in the subjunctive mood, we will find, occasionally, the verb in the sing., although a subj. in the plur. precedes (cf. § 29 a). Here the singular *ðu* and the form *eðest* have, by analogy, facilitated the incongruity; cf. b.

b) *Ælc* etc. is ant.; the verb of the rel. clause is in the sing. (If we eliminate *þara*, we obtain types C 2, 5.)

scinon . . wundorsiona fela secga gehwylcum þara þe on swylc starað Beow. 996. Andr. 1152. Gen. 1281, 1337. *þæt hie æghwylcne ellðeodigra dydan him to mose meteþearfendum þara þe þæt ealand utan sohte* Andr. 28.

No *his lifgedal sarlic þuhte secga ænegum þara þe tirleases trode sceawode* Beow. 843. *næfre hit æt hilde ne swac manna ængum þara þe hit mid mundum bewand, se ðe gryresidas gegan dorste* Beow. 1461. *næs se folccýning, ymbesittendra ænig ðara þe mec guðwinum gretan dorste* Beow. 2734. RIEGER (Lesebuch, Giessen 1861) found this last passage so peculiar that he supposed a lacuna. WÜLCKER (BAP), HEYNE, and others put a comma after *ðara*. HEYNE says in the glossary: »*ænig* . . Mit dem Artikel: *näs se folccýning* . . *ænig* kein Volkskönig». I have no faith in this. By placing the comma after *se folccýning* instead of after *ðara* (the MS has, as usual, no stop at all), and by translating »there was not the king, [not] any one amongst the neighbours, that dared etc.», it seems to me as though we should obtain a simple smoothly-flowing sentence with the usual parallel terms (*se folccýning* and *ymbesittendra ænig*) and with *ænig*, as in the preceding quot:s, governing the gen.

þæt hie oft fela folca feore gesceodon heriges helmum þara þe him hold ne wæs Dan. 16.

hæfdon hy forhealden helm Scylfinga, þone selestan sæcyninga þara ðe in Swiorice sinc brytnade Beow. 2383. Beow. 1407, 1686, 2130. El. 974, 1225. Ex. 365. CC 894. Cf. *The fable is, indeed, one of the worst, that was ever constructed* MAC. Goldsmith (NADER p. 475 foot-note).

Næfre mon ealra lifigendra . . þon wurðlicor wigsit ateah þara þe wið swa miclum mægne geræse Gen. 2095.

c) Sing. and plur. occur in *guðdeat fornam . . fyra gehwylcne, leoda minra, þara ðe þis lif ofgeaf, gesawon seledream* Beow. 2251; perhaps *gesawon seledream* is a main clause (NADER § 104).

2. *þara* (*þe*), or the word in the gen. plur. by which it is preceded, is connected with a plur. expression like *manige*, or is governed by a verb or prep., or is an objective or a possessive gen.; the verb of the rel. clause is in the plur.

§ 78. A. *þara* is preceded by *manige* etc. (If *þara* is ant., we have type B 4 a; if *manige* is ant. and we eliminate *þara*, we get types C 2, 5). *Swæ sindon wel monige ðara þe* (either: many of those who; many such persons as; or rather: many who) *gewundiað hiora mod mid ðæm weorcum ðisses flæsclican lifes, ða þe meahton . . ryht gesion* Cp. 68: 5. *Monige beoð ðeah [bliðe] & eac unbliðe ðara þe . . nahwæter doð* Cp. 186: 23. *Ic . . awritan het monege þara þe ure foregengan heoldon þa þe me licodon, and manege þara þe* (many, which) *me ne licodon, ic awearp* Le. 68: 2. *manigum on andan þara þe dryhtnes æ dyrnan woldon* El. 970; if *manigum* is sing., this quot. belongs under § 76 a. *& eac monige þara þe to Hamtune hierdon* ASC 190: 27.

§ 79. B. The word in the gen. plur. by which *þara* (*þe*) is preceded, is governed by *manige*. (If the word in the gen. plur. is ant., we have type B 5 a; if *manige* is ant. and *þara* is eliminated, we obtain types C 2, F 2.) *monige þara broðra þæs ylcan mynstres þara þe in oðrum husum wæron, sægdon þæt heo . .* Be. 174: 14. *hwi synt swa manige minra feonda þara þe me swencað* Ps. 3: 1.

§ 80. C. *þara* is governed by a prep., or is possessive gen. (type B 4). *he fleah wið þara þe þær bæftan wæron* Or. 190: 3. — *be minra magan dagon . . & þara ðe him efter fyligdan* ASC 66 note: 7. Be. 162: 4 (cf. § 71).

§ 81. D. The word in the gen. by which *þara* (*þe*) is preceded, is governed by a verb, or is an objective or a possessive gen. (type B 5 a). *Gemunat eowerra foregengena ðara þe eow bodedon Godes word* Cp. 204: 15. *Habbe ic þe awer benumen þinra gifena þara þe þe from me comon* Bo. 30: 14. — *fore generednisse heora freonda þara ðe of weorulde geleordon* Be. 330: 20. — *se wæs . . cumena arðegen þara ðe þæt mynster sohton* Be. 378: 11. Ps. 34: 3. Heitl. 200. Gen. 2016. Guth. 126, 239, 388.

II. (*þara*) *þe* is not subject.

1. *þara* (*þe*) or the word in the gen. plur. by which it is preceded, is connected with *ælc*, *manige* etc., or governed by some other word in the main clause.

§ 82 A. *þara* is preceded by *ælc*, *manige* etc. (If *þara* is ant., we have type B 13 a; if *ælc*, *manige* etc. is ant., and we eliminate *þara*, we obtain types C 8, 11, 14). *ælcne þara ðe ic ma lufige . . Ic hine lufige swa mycele ma . .* So. 337: 36. *ys . . for læten ælc good to us þara þe we habbat* So. 335: 39. *gyf se . . hlaforð ðe hwile spel segð þara ðe þu nefre ær ne geherdest* So. 351: 27. *ut alcedde . . wigan æghwilecne þara þe he . . findan mihte* Ex. 189. Be. 162: 18. *nænig wæs . . betera . . þara þe wif oððe wer . . cendan* El. 508. *se selesta . . þara þe we . . æfre gefrunen* Guth. 1334. Ex. 395. Gen. 1059 (cf. § 71). — *Lig ealle forswearg, gæsta gifrost, þara ðe þær guð fornam* Beow. 1123. *Manige syndon . . þara þe ðu gehweorfest* Andr. 974. *þa mildestan þara þe men witen* Jul. 207. In *he mæst gepah þara þe ic . . gefrægen hæbbe* Weit. 17, where *þara* is owing to the adverbial superlative *mæst*, it seems necessary to consider *þara* as ant. — In *þu æfst æac manige freond þara þe ðu genoh wel truwast* So. 351: 25, the rel. possibly represents a dat. (type C 14, if *þara* is eliminated). WÜLFING, without reserve, declares this to be the case. But *truwan* can also govern the gen.; see for instance Cp. 46: 2, Beow. 669, 2953; similarly *getruwan* Beow. 2322. (Beow. 2540 cannot be taken into consideration, as *strengo* is no distinct form. HEYNE has been rather unfortunate in his statements concerning this passage; cf. pp. 263 a and 271 b in his glossary.)

§ 83. B. The word in the gen. plur. by which *þara* (*þe*) is preceded, is governed by *ælc*, *manige* etc., or by an adj., or is an objective gen. (type B 14 a). *he hraþe wolde Grendle forgyldan guðræsa fela ðara þe he geworhte* Beow. 1578. Beow. 1196. Trgs. 86 (§ 178). El. 1013. Gen. 1298, 2573. Ex. 376, 520. Dan. 693. CC 526. In *Hæfde se goda Geata leoda cempa gecorone þara þe he cenoste findan mihte* Beow. 206 (omitted by NADER, § 103), I consider *leoda* a kind of partitive gen., although nōt, as usual, governed by *ælc*, a superlative, or such like, but by the whole expression *cempa gecorone*. — *þæt ðu ma ne sie minra gylta þara þe ic gefremede . . , gemyndig* El. 817. — *on wraðra gield þara þe forhealdene of hleo sende* Gen. 102. *Hafa arna þanc þara wegan þe þu unc bude* Gen. 2435. Gen. 2820.

2.

§ 84. The gen. is required in both clauses (type B 11). *ne wealdaþ hi þeah eallra þara þe hi wealdan woldon* Bo. 160: 4; cf. § 71. *he . . fand . . XVIII. & CCC. eac þeodenheoldra þara þe he wiste þæt meakte wel æghwylc on fyrd wegan fealwe linde* Gen. 2043 (§ 192 A a).

3.

§ 85. *þara þe* is governed by a word in the subordinate clause (type B 14 β). *welhwylc gecwæð þæt he . . secgan hyrde . . , uncubes fela, Wælsinges gewin, wide siðas, þara þe gumena bearn gearwe ne wiston* Beow. 878. *þonne heo . .*

þa ungeleafsuman, þara þe heo furðum gereorde ne cuþon, gesecan scolde. Be. 56: 5. For So. 351: 25 cf. § 82 end.

§ 86. *þara* in constructions where we should have expected *þara þe* (or *þætte*, *þone*, etc.), occurs in *þes nis man nan tweo þæt æcl (= ælc) þincg þara hys (= þara þe is).* *hwær hwugu is* So. 348: 35; *Wæs he under hiofenum hearpera mærost þara we an folcum gefrugen hæbben* PsL: 5. It may be in analogy with *se ðe* and *se*, *þam þe* and *þæm*, etc. (which were used promiscuously, §§ 108, 88, etc.), that *þara* has here taken the place of the fuller expression. In Heliand 4413 we find the same peculiarity.

Chapter II.

§ 87. *Se* etc. — Regular inflection in West-Saxon:

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	Nom.	<i>se</i> ¹	<i>seo</i> ²	<i>þæt</i> ³
	Gen.	<i>þæs</i> ⁴	<i>þære</i> ⁵	— ⁴
	Dat.	<i>þæm</i> ⁶	— ⁵	— ⁶
	Acc.	<i>þone</i> ⁷	<i>þa</i> ⁸	— ³
	Inst.	<i>þy</i> ⁹ , <i>þon</i> ¹⁰		— ^{9,10}
Plur.	Nom.	— ⁸	— ⁸	— ⁸
	Gen.	<i>þara</i> ¹¹	— ¹¹	— ¹¹
	Dat.	— ⁶	— ⁶	— ⁶
	Acc.	— ⁸	— ⁸	— ⁸

Later forms: *þan*⁶, *þane*⁷, *þene*⁷, *þo*⁸, *þeo*⁸, etc. Probably *þe*, when representing a nom. sing. masc., is not always the inflexible particle (§ 115), but a form which is in reference to *se* what *þe þe* (§ 111) and *þeo* (§ 94) are in reference to *se þe* and *seo*.

The forms *se*, *seo*, *þæs*, *þære*, *þara*, *þone* were fairly common from the 8th till the 11th cent.; *þy* and *þon* were rare (as pron:s). All of them almost disappeared in the course of the 12th cent., being replaced by other forms of the same rel. (*þæt* §§ 98, 99; *þa* § 94) or by other rel:s. *þæm* and *þa*, which occupied 5—7 places in the old paradigm, lingered on a little longer, the latter even widening its range. *þæt* (*that*) alone survived.

§ 88. Examples.

gebete þone æfwerdelsan (the damage) *se* (whosoever) *þæt fyr ontent* Le. 62: 6. *Gesæt þa wið sylfne se ða sæcce genæs* (i. e. Beowulf) Beow. 1977. *Se deað his wille mast he sal habbe werest mede* Sp. I 17 B: 221. *siexta wæs Oswald se æfter him ricsode* ASC 112: 29. *suelc man se ðisses landes bruce*, *agebe ðis fiah* Chart. 39: 13. *Se wifmon se hyre bearn afedan ne mæge*, *genime heo sylf hyre* . . Zaub. 7: 15. *færeð forst on gemang se byð fyrnum ceald* Gen. 809. *belocun wiþ þam laþan se me lyfes eht* Zaub. 8: 39. *þæt se wære his aldre scyldig se ðæs onsoce* Dan. 451. *na . . manega dagas ac an . se ne geendað næfre* LS 12: 81. — SWEET, in his glossary to OET, omits Chart. 39: 13 (see above), but mentions the analogous Chart. 39: 9 under *sua*, p. 600. In the same charter, line 14, occurs indeed *swilc man sue*. But in Chart. 41 we find again *swalc monn se* 28, *swalcum se* 40, and *swalc monn se ðe* 31. SWEET quotes also these three passages under *sua*; but marks them with an interrogation. How he explains a »*swalc monn swa ðe*» I do not know. To me there seems to be no hindrance whatever for taking *se* to mean *se* and nothing else. After *swilc* occur all manner of rel:s; see § 123. Likewise after *swa hwa* (§ 153), and *swa hwilc* (§ 168) we occasionally find *þe* or *se þe* instead of the usual *swa*.

þA ðæt gehyrde sio þær hæledum scead (i. e. Elene) El. 709. *Æfter hiere feng to ðæm rice Penthesilia sio . . swiþe mære geweard* Or. 48: 2. ASC 373: 20. *Æþelred cyning feng to niwan wife . seo wæs Ælfled gehaten* ASC 99: 39. (*Iohannes*) *awrat ða feorðan Cristes boc*, *seo hrepað swyðost ymbe Cristes godcundnysse* ASR 14 A: 210.

Ic seah . . on flet beran . . rode tacn þæs (ejus qui) *us to roderum up hlædre rærde* Rāts. 56: 5. *ic . . fagnige þæs þu cwyst* So. 343: 38. *Geher ðu . . meotudes rædum*, *fore þæs onsyne ealle gesceafte forhte geweorðað* Andr. 1499. *Ðises geares . . Rannulf . . to Normandige for . þurh þes macunge . . Rotbert . . þis land mid unfriðe gesohte* ASC 366: 2. *nymþe ic dom wite soðan swefnes þæs min sefa myndgað* Dan. 144. *þæt is þæt an . . ðæs ic . . me onsitte* LS 23: 730.

ðæs halgan biscepes tid . . (& his) modor, *ðære noma wæs sancte Anthiæ* Mart. 12. *oð Donua þa ea*, *þære æwielme is neah Rines ofre* Or. 14: 31. *þonne seo æftre Ethiopia land . . beligeð uton . . þære is Geon noma* Gen. 230. (*God*) *geswutelode him . . þa toweardan onwrigennysse*, *be ðære he awrat ða boc* ASR 14 A: 33.

eadge ðeara forletne sind unreh̄twisnisse (Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates) VP 31: 1. *to biſceþum ðara openlican weorc we geſioð* Cp. 104: 9. *to neata ſcipene, þara heord him wæs . . beboden* Be. 342: 26. *God forgifð us . . wæſtmas . þara we ſculon' brucan* LS 11: 357. *ðreo hund hlafa, ðeara bið fiftig hwitehlafa* Chart. 41: 60.

eadiġ ðone ðu geceure (Beatus quem elegisti) VP 64: 5. *þær wes se cing gehaten Sæberht . . þone Ædelberht geſette þær to cininga* ASC 37 E: 25 (A: 37: ðan). *Abrahame woc bearn of bryde, þone brego engla . . Isaac nemde* Gen. 2764. *Syle us . . hlaſ urne þone ðu onſendest* Vat. 2: 16. Perhaps it is rel. also in *hæhte þat alc mon . . aġain come . . bule he weore ſwa fule biwite! þat he weore lauerd-swike . oðer . . manswore! þene þe king demde for-lore* LAꝥ. A: 22140. (B has *þane*.)

swe swe gyrdels mid ðy aa ſie bigyrðed (ut zona qua ſemper præcingitur) VP 108: 19. — *gemyne wordes ðines . . in ðon me hyht ðu ſaldes* VP 118: 49. BH 11: 1. Seeſ. 103.

ſegn eac genom . . þam (from him who) *ðara maðma mundbora wæs* Beow. 2779. *for þam* (what) *ic þe nu sæde* Bo. 290: 12. *wuna þæm* (with thoſe who) *þe aġon* Gen. 2293. *þæt ðu . . wiðſæceſt fæſte þone ahangnan cyning, þam ðu hyrdeſt ær* El. 933. *þæt hie weorðeden . . þone mæran dæg . . in ðam ſio halige rod gemeted wæs* El. 1223. *Nou and euere more! haueþ þat clef þare . name of þan his i-cleped! þis his Gemagog his leope* LAꝥ. B: 1927. *fiſ Moyses boca, ðam ſeo . . æ awriten is* Be. 26: 27.

Siddan wocan þa þæs cynnes cneowrim icton Gen. 1065. *dohtor Hroðgares . . ealuwæġe bæſ, þa ic Freaware fletsittende nemnan hyrde* Beow. 2022. *þat þu biġite cnihtes! þa gode beoð to fihte* LAꝥ. 14128. *þa Troyſſe men sloġen! al þa Grickes þea heo neih comen* LAꝥ. 581. *He nom þa Engliſca boc! þa makede ſeint Beda* LAꝥ. 32. *him brimu blodige þuhton, þurh þa heora beadoſearo wæġon* Ex. 572. *Swilce is ſeo feorðe, þa nu . . weras Eufraaten . . nemnað* Gen. 233.

For *þat* ſee §§ 96—106. For *se* etc. referring to the 1st and 2nd pers. ſee § 184.

§ 89. Preps which governed *þæm*, *þære*, *þone*, *þa*, *þy*, *þon* regularly preceded. *ſe mæſta ðic, on þæm is iernende ſe unġefoġleceſta ſtream* Or. 74: 18. *þa toweardan onwrigennysſe, be ðære he awrat ða boc* ASR 14: 33. *ſe ealða arleasa . . þurh þone ſynd to-worpene ða wuldor-fullan goðas* LS 22: 162. *ſume duru onlocene, ðurh ða ic geſeah* Cp. 154: 6. *swe swe gyrdels mid ðy aa ſie bigyrðed* VP 108: 19. *gemyne wordes ðines . . in ðon me hyht ðu ſaldes* VP 118: 49. — Sometimes the prep. was repeated. *þæt lond on þæm wæron þa twa byrig on ġetimbred* Or. 1: 6. Cf. § 174 end and § 118 Note.

§ 90. A partitive gen. was often governed by the rel. *Hamtuſſcir, ſe dæl ſe hiere* (the part of it which) *behinon ſæ was* ASC 148: 8. *him bið lean ġearo*

. . *þæs we herinne magon . . fremena gewinnan* Gen. 436. *eall ðæt ðær gehyldes lutige* Cp. 152: 14. WÜLFING, § 286, gives several ex:s for *þæt*. The same construction occurs after *se þe* etc., *þe*, *swilc* etc., (*swa*) *hwa* (*swa*) etc., (*swa*) *hwylc* (*swa*) etc.

Note. That the gen. in the rel. clause should be governed by the ant., seems to me quite out of the question; cf. WÜLFING § 286. If the ant. takes a partitive gen., this gen. will, of course, be in the main clause. *genamon ceapes eall þæt þær buton wæs* ASC 170: 32. Or. 74: 28 (§ 113).

§ 91. *Se* is used for *seo* (cf. § 110) in *swa swa seo boc sagap se is awriten be his life* Be. ed. SMITH 547: 32 (WÜLFING). *him wæs . . wyrd ungemete neah se ðone gomelan gretan sceolde* Beow. 2421, where WÜLCKER and others add an *o*. — *Seo* agrees with the pred. compl. of the rel. clause in *Verba Dierum līt þær to gecied seo ys seo fīfte boc* ASR 13: 295; cf. Heil. 13 (§ 93). In late texts *seo* is often used for *se*: *Ðet wæron . . Tuda biscop. & Wilfrid preost. seo wæs sippon biscop. & Eoppa preost* ASC 53 note: 22. ASC 75 E: 10.

§ 92. The gens *þæs*, *þære*, *þara* were governed by verbs, adj:s, or prep:s, or were partitive, objective, or possessive. Instead of using the possessive *þæs*, *þære*, *þara*, common in the highly cultivated language, simpler speech often resorted to other expressions; see § 117 D, § 179. *þara* for *þara þe*, see § 86.

Appendix. *þæs* was also used adverbially, in the sense of »according to what», »in what», »as for as», »for aught» (cf. § 112 App., § 106 A), and in various other significations. *þus syndon haten . . fæder & modur, þæs we ge-frægen habbað þurh modgemynd, Maria & Ioseph* Andr. 687. Gen. 680.

§ 93. *þone* in *He gesette þreo bec . . An ys Parabole . . Oþer ys gecweden Ecclesiastes . . Seo þridde ys gecweden Cantica Canticorum, þæt segð on Englisc 'ealra sanga fyrmost', þone he sang be Criste* ASR 13: 350 is owing to *sanga* (»the foremost song»). *þæne* agrees in gender with the pred. compl. of the rel. clause in *þætte fulwihltið eces drihtnes to us cymed, þæne »twelfta dæg» tir-eadiġe . . hatað* Heil. 13; cf. ASR 13: 295 (§ 91).

§ 94. *þa* is apparently used, possibly by mistake, for *þæt* (or neut. *þe*) in *Hu iedelice God geendade þæt micle gewin mid hiora tvegea felle þa Maximus & his ealdormon hæfdon up ahæfen mid monigum þeodum* Or. 294: 6; cf. Bock p. 26, WÜLFING § 284 d. In *ot ðet ic secge earm ðinne cneorisse alre ða toword is* (Donec adnuntiem brachium tuum generationi omni quae ventura est) VP 70: 18, we should have expected *seo*. From the 12th cent. inclusive *þa* (*þo*, *þea*, *þeo*) was frequently employed in place of the obsolescent *se*, *seo*, *þone*, sometimes also for *þæt* (or *þe*). *God ælmihtig . þa eall ðigelnesse seð & wat . he seoð þat man . .* ASC 376: 20. *He deð him selua freoma: þa helped his freondene* LA3. 675. *for his fader saule: þa hine ford brouhte . . & for his moder saule: þa hine to monne iber* LA3. 63, 65. *þa luuede he a maide . . þeo was Lauine*

mauwe LAG. 257. *to geniwiianne ðone geleauan . ða Sanctus Gregorius us sende* ASC 97 F: 12. *þu . . scalt habben to lauerd: min alre beste þein . þeo ich mai uinden* LAG. 2999. *on þa tun þa was tenn ploges oðer twelfe (= þæt . . on or þe . . on; cf. § 106 D, § 119 D) gangende* ASC 380: 24. — It has a vague function in *ðarinnan settan þas ylcan hades menn þa he ðyder . . sende . & þa he sylf wes* (and that he himself belonged to) ASC 244 note: 17; cf. § 99.

§ 95. In a few instances I suspect attempts at using obl. cases of the rel. *se* adjectively. *þær he onfeng beah and sige eces lifes, þone ylcan sige* (the crown and trophy of eternal life, which trophy) *God behet eallum þam ðe hine lufian wyllað* Be. 40: 6. — *ic . . wende þæt hit hel wære be ðam tintregum unaraefnendlicum ic oft sæcgan herde* Be. 426: 2. The Lat. has: »de cuius tormentis intolerabilibus narrare sæpius audiui». MILLER translates: »of which intolerable torments I had often heard stories». WÜLFING, § 286 b, calls the passage »eigentümlich», but offers no explanation. *he becom to þæm heahsetle þære rode on þæm upstige* (in which ascent; MORRIS: in the ascent of which) *eall ure lif he getremede* BH 9: 36. FLAMME, p. 30, speaks of »Attraktion des Relativs an den Kasus des Beziehungswortes». What he really means is all the more difficult to make out, as he, under the said heading, huddles together four ex:s, all of which are of totally different kinds. — *Her efne on-gind þæra eadigra seofon slæpera ðrowung . ðara haligra naman* (the names of which saints) *scinað on heofenum* LS 23: 1. *Setton him þa ænne wicnere . . gesceadne. ðæs eadigan nama wæs malchus se goda* LS 23: 217.

§ 96. *Þæt* (*that*) was common in the 8th cent., it was very common in the 12th and 13th cent., and it is common still. But its sphere has changed in course of time. — Being, originally, the nom. and acc. neut. sing. of a flexible pron., it was regularly used in OE

A) without an ant. in the sense of »id quod». *on ælcum lande ne licað þæt on oþrum licap* Bo. 98: 25. *secgan þæt soð is* LS 14: 3. — Later ex:s: *Do nu þat þu er of spake* Sp. I 19: 535. *þat holi man hadde gret wonder. þat* (at what) *heo was* Sp. II 1 B: 75. *a tre Turned vp þat es down* (with what is down turned up, i. e. upside down) Sp. II 10: 673. *make . . testament . . of that is in my stronge chest* Sp. III 2: 618. *That we have sayd is of very trouth* Sp. III 12: 14. *I earn that I eat* SHAK. As you III 2: 77.

B) with a neut. sing. ant. (noun, adj. used substantively, pron.); cf. § 116
Note 1. *þæt wif wel gedyrstgade þæt Drihtnes hrægel . . gehran* Be. ed. SMITH 494: 19 (WÜLFING). *þonne todaelað hi his feoh þæt þær to lafe bið* Or. 20: 28. *him com swylc weder agean þæt tobeot ealle ða scipan* ASC 261 F: 10. *þæt lytle þæt he erede he erede mid horsan* Or. 18: 15. *Onsend Higelace . . bea-duscruda betst þæt mine breost wered* Beow. 453. *Næs þæt þonne mæstost mæ-genfultuma þæt him . . lah ðyle Hroðgares* Beow. 1456. *he ongit . . eall ðæt hic*

innan ðenceað Cp. 154: 11; cf. § 71. *þonne ic ymbe swelc smealicost þence . þæt ic nu . . ongiten habbe* Bo. 40: 21. *Ne we soðlice swylc ne gefrignan . . æfre gelimpan, þæt ðu in sundurgiefe swylc befenge* CC 80. The difficult passage *weolde þone god þæt þæt he is . þæt ic hate God swa swa ealle gesceafta hataþ* Bo. 246: 22 might possibly be rendered thus: »Good, therefore, caused what he is (i. e. the supreme personal Good created what was good). This (Good) I call God, as all creatures do». Cf. WÜLFING § 275 Anmerk. — ME and mod. ex:s: *Ancre ne ouh nout to habben no þing þet drawe utward hire heorte* Sp. I 9: 137. *we wote not what it is that God hath promysed* Sp. III 16: 41. *and that that I did, I was set on to do't by Sir Toby* SHAK. T. Night V 1: 188. *that that I say, is this* STEELE Spect. (KOCH p. 258); cf. § 161 A b. *His behaviour is such that would not shame the best education* FIELDING (MÄTZNER p. 493). *in anything that befalls them* JOHNSON 25. *admiration of all that is great* MAC. Bac. 28. — In four of the above ex:s the rel. is preceded by *swilc, such*. For the usual correlatives of *swilc, such*, see § 123.

Note. Not only Beow. 453, 1456 (see above), but also Beow. 2616, 2704, are quoted by NADER, § 95, under the heading »Kein beziehungsworte im Hauptsatze».

C) referring to a whole clause or to a verb (with its obj., pred. compl., or adverbial adjunct) or to an adj. (used as such); often in parenthetical clauses. *on þa gerad þæt hi gecuron hyre cynecynn aa on þa wif healfe . þæt hy heoldon swa lange syþþan* ASC 5: 8. *Wæron heo feower gebroðor . . ealle Godes sacerdas, þæt seldon gemeted bið, mære & gode* Be. 232: 28. — Later ex:s: *he . . ȝiaf miht . . his hesne to fulfordie . þat non oðre laze ne mihte* Sp. I 1: 113. *ne ich ne seh him neuer þat me sare forþunched* Sp. I 8: 88. *vnnepē eni mon . mizte is bowe bende, þat he wolde him-sulf vp is fot . ridinge wel vaste* Sp. II 1: 411. *drawynge his cote-armure with his teethe after hym . . And that more meruaile was, holdynge in his hande aboue the water, certayne lettres* Sp. III 18: 112.

§ 97. *þæt* (in the nom. or acc.) with a masc., fem., or plur. ant. occurs, although only exceptionally, as early as the 9th cent. Without an ant. in the sense of »is qui» I have found it only once in OE (for ME and MnE see § 101). From the 9th, 10th and 11th cent. I adduce

A) (»is qui») *gif me teala þenap hindeweardre þæt biþ hlaford min* Rāts. 22: 15.

B) (masc. sing.) *Wæs he se ðridða cyning in Ongolþeode cyningum þæt allum suðmæcþum weold* Be. 108: 27. *Done Nazareniscan Hælend ðæt wæs afandon wer betwux eow on mægenum . . , ðone ge beswicon* Cp. 443: 5. *þæt scell æglæwra mann . . findan on ferðe, þæt fram fruman cunne eall þa earfeðo* Andr. 1485. *nis gedeglad muð min from ðe ðæt ðu dydes in degulnisse* (Non est occultatum os meum abs te quod fecisti in occulto) VP 138: 15. *heora þeo-*

was : . *hie benoman heora heafodstedeð þæt hie Capitoliam heton* Or. 86: 30. *þu scealt gefastnian ðone streng on gode . þæt ðæt scyp healdan sceal þines modes* So. 339: 34. *swa wynlic wæs his wæstm on heofonum þæt him com from weroda drihtne* Gen. 255, where I look on *wæstm* as a masc.; SWEET, in ASR, calls it a »smn» (subst. masc. and neut.), but seems to base this statement only on this very passage. — In the ex. from VP *þæt* corresponds to a Lat. *quod*, and although, in many cases, the translation is as independent of its original; as can be expected in an interlinear version, it is not improbable, that the same translator would have used *þone* in original English composition. Cf. VP 132: 2 (C).

C) (fem. sing.) *swe swe smiring in heafde ðæt astag in beard* (Sicut unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam) VP 132: 2. *ðæt hi magon eac be ðisse bisene ongietan ðæt* (Cotton MSS: *þe*) *him is to gecueden* Cp. 189: 21. *Babilone burh . . geseah . . heah hlifigan, þæt se heretyma werede geworhte* Dan. 603. *and eac ða getacnunga þæt Adam getacnude* ASR 13: 129. *þa fundon hie oþre floccrade þæt rad ut wið Lygtunes* ASC 188: 8. *in þære cyrce . þæt ær hæfde standen . . forutan . . riht* ASC 347: 2. — As analogous to the passages quoted I explain also *fyrendearfe ongeat, þæt hie ær drugon aldorlease lange hwile* Beow. 15, which HEYNE, p. 163 b, renders by »(Gott) hatte die schlimme Not angesehen, (hatte angesehen) dass sie lange eines Herrschers bar gelebt hatten», whereas SIEVERS and others alter *þæt* into *þa*; cf. NADER § 134 b.

D) (plur.) *Wyrþigre wrace hie forwurdon ða . . þæt þa heora synna sceoldon hreowsian* Or. 256: 12. *aris nu and wirce us godas þæt faron beforan us* (qui nos praecedant) Exod. ed. GREIN 32: 1 (B. SCHRADER). *gangap & findap gen þa þe fyrngewritu . . selest cunnen . . , þæt me &sware . . secgan cunnen* El. 375. El. 409. (Cf. El. 317.)

Note 1. In *heht him swelcra ma brengan be ðære bysene þæt he his biscepum sendan meahte* Cp. 8: 15, I connect the rel. neither with *swelcra* (SWEET, in his ed. p. 483, says that »ðæt stands for a plural relative») nor with *bysene* (the other alternative offered by WÜLFING, § 285), but with the sing. *ma*; cf. *mid þy eower ma is* Be. 102: 3; *næs a fela manna þe smeade ymbe þa bote* ASR 16: 10; *Is nu fela folca þætte fyrngewritu healdan wille* Lehr. 67. — Be. 314: 32 (ed. SMITH 587: 5) is too contestable to be placed under C; cf. WÜLFING § 284 b.

Note 2. In sentences like *swe hwylc mon swa ðet sio þet ðes londes bruce . . , þanne geselle he . .* Chart. 45: 21, *þæt is seo lufe embe þæt he wite gode* So. 341: 32, *nis hit Petrus, þæt ðær cnucað* Ælfric I 518: 1 (B. SCHRADER), the form of the rel. is, in my opinion, owing to the preceding neut. pron., even though another conception might appear more natural to a mod. reader, and notwithstanding ex:s like Andr. 1199 (§ 10). Cf. § 186 Note. — In this context

I mention also *þæt wæron fieftiene hund þusend monna þæt binnan þæm forwurdon* Or. 128: 23.

Note 3. If I were to accept WÜLCKER's and HEYNE's emendation of Beow. 766, I should, differently from HEYNE, consider *þæt* in 767 a rel. pron. But cf. NADER § 52, ASD p. 423 b.

Note 4. In cases like *opðæt heora riht cyning Wihtred, þæt wæs* (id est) *Ecgbyrhtes sunu, wæs in rice gestrongad* Be. 360: 14, *þær wæron twa cwena, þæt wæron gesweostor, Anthiopa & Orithia* Or. 46: 36, *þæt* may be dem.

Note 5. When *þæt*, in sentences like those quoted below, followed on an indefinite, negative, or int. expression, it was perhaps originally a conj. (cf. ERDMANN §§ 272, 274), which gradually was identified with the rel. For KLINGHARDT's, LOHMANN's, BOCK's, and WÜLFING's different opinions, see WÜLFING § 284 a, § 287). *gif hwylc* (any one) *sy þæt ðe . . alyse* Be. ed. SMITH 514: 2 (WÜLFING). *ne wæs æfre ænig cyning ne ealdorman þæt ma heora landa ute amærde* Ib. 499: 22 (WÜLFING). *þæt ðær nan to lafe ne weard þæt hit to Rome gebodode* Or. 206: 9. ASC 264: 27; 302: 13. Cf. *Nænig forþum wæs, þæt he æwiscmod eft siðade* Guth. 896, possibly belonging under § 180.

Note 6. When *þæt* was placed like the Lat. »ut» and »quin» in »Nemo (quis) est tam sapiens ut (= qui) omnia sciat», »Nemo (quis) est quin (= qui + a negative) sciat», it was, I believe, originally a conj. But the more the liberty of omitting pers. pron:s was reduced, the more distinctly *þæt* was felt as a rel. *ne wene ic þæt ænig man si swa dysig þat þæs wene* So. 340: 11. *Nis nu nan wis man þæt nyte þætte god & yfel biþ simle ungeþwære betwux him* Bo. 294: 16. *Nis nænig swa snotor ne swa cræftig ne þæs swa gleaw nymþe god seolfa, þæt asecgan mæge swegles leoman* Klag. 351. *Næs nan þæs stronglic stan gefæstnod . . , þæt mihte þam miclan mægne wiðhabban* Höll. 154. *hwa is swa heard heort þæt ne mæg wepan swylces ungelimpes* ASC 354: 2. *þat nan ne beo . . swa unwitti . þat word talie* LAZ. 787. *Nis nawer nan so wis mon: þat me ne mai bi-swiken* LAZ. 754. *nis of ow non so kene, þat durre abide mine onsene* Sp. I 16: 1706. *Ne þat þe king . . so hardi nere; Ne non atte parlement. þat knif ne suerd bere* Sp. II 1: 112. *In world nis non so wyter mon þat al hire bounte telle con* Sp. II 4: 30. Sp. II 9: 162. *on folde no flesch styryed, þat þe flod nade al freten* (which the flood had not altogether consumed; or: but the flood had consumed it all) Sp. II 13: 404. Md'A 712: 20 (BALDWIN § 104 a). *Who is so firm that cannot be seduced?* SHAK. Cæsar I 2: 316. SHAK. Rich. 3 III 6: 11. Other ex:s in MÄTZNER p. 528. — Cf. *nis nan swa eald man þe hi nu . . mage geþencan* LS 23: 708. *Ne was non so wis man . . ðe kude vn-don ðis dremes bond* Sp. I 15: 2114. *nis þar nan swa god. þa (= se, § 94) ȝet habbe isæid: þat us is selest to don* LAZ. 917. *I haue none soo hyghe a thynghe whiche were worthy to susteyne soo hyhe a suerd* Md'A 698: 10 (BALDWIN). *There was no man so*

sanguine who did not apprehend some ill consequence SWIFT (MÄTZNER p. 528). *Breathes there the man, with soul so dead, Who never to himself hath said . .* SCOTT Last. M. 6: 2. Cf. 132 C.

Note 7. In clauses where the constituent parts are all expressed without the aid of *þæt*, we must consider it a conj., unless, in some single case, in OE or ME, we should think of the possibility of a rel. periphrase (*þat* he = qui, etc., § 180). *nis nan þara ðe þe rihte sehð þæð he þe ne finde* So. 336: 29. *nauede Belin nan cnihte: þet he næs þere god kimppe* LA3. 5661. *Wot ic ðor non ðat he ne biuēð* Sp. I 15: 2280. *ther nas king ne prince in al that londe, That he nas glad, if that he grace fonde* CHAUC. 536: 3521. *Wher see ye oon, that he ne hath laft his leef* CHAUC. 375: 1260. *ther is neither busk nor hay In May, that it nil shrouded been* CHAUC. 2: 55. A. SCHRADER, p. 11, places these three last ex:s, as well as CHAUC. 374: 1124 (see below), on a par with CHAUC. 419: 44 (§ 180). In this he follows MÄTZNER, of whose ex:s in p. 527 (d, last paragraph) I refer only about half the number to § 180. — *Hwa bið medtrum, ðæt ic ne sie eac for his ðingum sioc? Oððe hwa bið gescended, ðæt me forðæm ne scamige* Cp. 164: 4, 5. *nis þar nan swa laih þat we nabbet his freond: ifelled* LA3. 987. *No þing nabben heo þet hore dame hit nute* Sp. I 9: 247. *þer nas so heymon non. þat him enes wip-sede, þat me ne ssolde him take anon* Sp. II 1: 394. *Ther nas . . coupe of gold . . That Dido ne hath hit Eneas y-sent* CHAUC. 374: 1124. *No. metal ever falls into his hands that he does not make the most of it* JERROLD (MÄTZNER p. 482). — *Was noght a temple or-quar in tun, þat þar ne fel sumidel dun* Sp. II 7: 418.

§ 98. In the 12th cent. the usage mentioned in § 97 grew more and more common. *he him sceawede gan on ald mon þet . . deoflen ledden abuten* Sp. I 3 A: 49. *alse þe tadde deð in þere eorde þet neure ne mei itimien to eten hire fulle* Sp. I 3 B: 111. *þar sulle ben deflen swo fele þat willed us forwreien* Sp. I 17 B: 97. Out of the few pages in Sp. I alone, I have noted down about 25 ex:s from the 12th cent. — ME and mod. ex:s: *heo is lufsumere, þet is . . untiffed wiðtuten* Sp. I 9: 187. *wo schal us seme (who shall reconcile us) þat kunne and wille riht us deme* Sp. I 16: 188. *swich worþ bold gif þu flizst, þat wile fleo gif þu niswicst* Sp. I 16: 406. *Fox that ye been, god yeve your herte care* CHAUC. 269: 1565. *like apes that mow and chatter* SHAK. Temp. II 2: 9. *the Hottentots . . put them that were wounded out of their misery* MARRYAT Mission 24. *better fitted than any man that England has ever produced* MAC. Bac. 51. — For *þat* immediately after other rel:s see §§ 103, 149, 164, 172, etc.

Note 1. In *gif me gemed wurse ei þing ileaned oðer biteih[t] to witene, þen he wene þet hit ouh* Sp. I 9: 18, the editors take *þet* to be a conj. and translate: »if any one keeps anything lent or entrusted (to his care) worse than he

thinks it ought to be kept.» I translate: »... worse than he expects who owns it.» (*Wene* can hardly be said here of the borrower or care-taker, and the owner has not been mentioned before.)

Note 2. NOACK says, in p. 20, when speaking of the 12th cent.: »es ist sehr auffallend, was den Gebrauch von *þæt* betrifft, dass dieses Pronomen nur allein, wenn es dem indefiniten *all* folgt, in dieser Zeit gefunden wird; sobald aber *all* mit einem Substantiv verbunden ist, folgt in den meisten Fällen *þe*«. Then two ex:s follow, out of which the one contains neither *þæt* nor *þe*. In the 12th cent. ex:s for *þæt* which I have collected from ASC and Sp. I, numbering about 130, the ant. is 75 times a noun (in the sing. or in the plur., denoting persons or things, with or without a preceding *all*), in 23 cases it is *all*, in 8 *þæt*, in 6 some other pron., in the rest there is no ant. NOACK might have said, that »gewöhnlich dieses Pronomen, niemals *þe*, in dieser Zeit gefunden wird, wenn das Relativum dem indefiniten *all* folgt»; cf. § 116 B.

§ 99. In the 12th cent. the form *þæt*, as far as the rel. treated of here was used at all, took up the functions of the obsolescent datives. It also commenced to be used as a makeshift to express the gen. relation, which indeed, whilst the forms *þæs*, *þære*, *þara* were still in use (§ 92), was indicated by these forms in the highly cultivated language, but often also by the inflexible *þe* (§ 117 C, D). Even yet the rel. *that* is used in careless speech to denote relation in a vague fashion, corresponding to the gen. or some other obl. case of a flexible pron. or to a prepositional phrase. *Betfage . . bitocneð holie chirche. þat men noten inne here mudes wike* (B. significat ecclesiam in qua bucce funguntur officio suo) Sp. I 4 A: 49. *þæt wæron rachtetes þæt* (of which) *twa . . men hadden onoh to bæron onne* ASC 382: 30. — ME and mod. ex:s: *þar-inne beoþ þeo . þat* (to whom) *her wes leof . poure men to swenche* Sp. I 17 A: 246. *in his hond, His, that Hauelok was the name* (= older *þæm wæs nama H.*) Sp. I 18: 727. *Now haue I tolde þe what treuþe is . þat* (than which) *no tresour is betere* Sp. II 15 I: 184. *Our Emperour . . A doghter hath that, sin the world bigan . . , Nas never swich another as is she* (anacoluthon) CHAUC. 478: 157. *We saw a house that* (of which) *the storm had taken the roof* (whose roof the s. had t.) *clean away* (Mod.). Cf. § 94 end, § 180. — **Note.** NOACK, p. 26, when speaking of ORM's and LAZAMON's time, says that »*þe* und *þat* nur Nominat. oder Accus. ausdrücken können».

§ 100. Sometimes *þat* represents two different cases; cf. § 117 E, F. *þar-inne beoþ . . þeo þat ne myhte vuele do. and* (those who could not do evil, but to whom) *was hit leof to þenche* Sp. I A 17: 248.

§ 101. In the 13th cent. *þat* was almost (§ 87 end) the only surviving form and commoner than any other rel. Often during the 13th and 14th cent., and sometimes later, it was employed without an ant. also in the sense of »is qui», »eum qui», etc. *gif . . hit wulle me iunne : þat* (is qui) *i-scop mone & sunne* LAZ.

21090. *þenne wile wene þæt þine wise ne con: þat þe þine wise wel lyke* Sp. I 14: 232. *þeos pyne þolieþ þer. þat* (ii qui) *were mete-nyþinges here* Sp. I 17 A: 226. *Biuo[r] him saȝ he stonde þat* (eos qui) *driuen him of londe And þat his fader sloȝ* Sp. I 19: 880, 881. *his sun for him was sett again, Or his neist þat was fere* (or he who was his nearest relative) Sp. II 7: 37. *these ben that* (ii qui) *ben sown on a stoon* Sp. II 17 A 4: 16. *thou to loue that* (eum qui) *loueth not the is but grete folȝ* Md'A 237: 17 (BALDWIN). *Plead for him that* (whoever) *will, I am resolv'd* MARLOWE 2: 188. *Woe, that too late repents* SHAK. Lear I 4: 279. *There are that dare* SHAK. H 8 V 1: 40. *Who risk the most, that take wrong means, or right?* POPE Man 4: 86. *Handsome is that handsome does.* Proverb.

Note. When speaking of a time during which *þat* was used to express almost every possible relation, and was the most common rel. that ever existed, NOACK, p. 24, in a separate paragraph, gives the information: »*þat* bezieht sich auf Substantiva, wenn ein gewisser Nachdruck auf sie gelegt werden soll». Cf. his own statement p. 27.

§ 102. *þæt* (*that*) could formerly be governed by a preceding prep. (A); more frequently, however, the prep. followed, usually placed before the verb or, if after the verb, at least before the obj. (B). When *þæt* had no ant. and the governing prep. was required by a word in a preceding main clause, there was, of course, no choice (A end). When *þæt* had no ant. and the prep. was required by a word in the rel. clause, the prep. was usually placed behind (ex. under B). Now-a-days *that* can be governed only by following words, and the prep. is placed after both the verb and the obj. (C) — Examples:

A) *þæt is seo lufe embe þæt he wite gode* So. 341: 32. ASC 344 A: 13. *no þing for þat he bie unwurdere gode* Sp. I 4 B: 38. *toward this Contree, of that I have spoke* MAUND. 181: 17. **Note.** When treating of Early ME, NOACK, p. 26, says it is »nothwendig, wenn ein Verb einen obliquen Casus verlangt, dass die Präposition in Verbindung mit dem Verbum bleibt». — *Nabbed hie no þing forzieten of þat hie her iseien* Sp. I 17 B: 98. *To make an ende of þat sche gan* Sp. II 20: 287. *make . . testament . . of that is in my stronge chest* Sp. III 2: 618. *Cease to lament for that thou canst not help* SHAK. Gent. III 1: 241.

B) *an treow þæt mæge XXX swina under gestandan* ASR 11: 70. *gif he torngemot þurhteon mihte þæt he eotena bearn inne gemunde* Beow. 1141, which I understand differently from HEYNE. *bi-tache me . . ane . . burh . þat ich mai inne ligge* LAȝ. 14131. *Do nu þat þu er of spake* Sp. I 19: 535. *in þe sacrament also . þat soþfast god-on is* Sp. III 1: 822. — *Betfage . . bitocned holie chirche . þat men noten inne here mudes wike* Sp. I 4 A: 49. *þai fand nan . . þat þai cuth ask at þair gesting* Sp. II 7: 374.

C) *þær wæs . . fleohnet . . , þæt se bealofulla mihte wlitian þurh* Jud. 48. *halden his hus þat godes tresor is in* Sp. I 7: 192. *to that place that thou cam fro* Sp. III 4: 173. *there are other Trojans that thou dreamest not of* SHAK. 1 H 4 II 1: 77. *from the enemies that I apprehended danger from* Crus. 91. *filthy champagne it is, too, that my brother poisons us with* THACK. Van. Fair 11. *The man that I spoke of* (MATHESIUS).

§ 103. Very seldom the rel. *þat* was followed by the same redundant *þat*, which, during the 13th—15th cent., was common after *who* (§ 149), *which* (§ 164), etc. *fro the Lond of Galilee, of that that I have spoke* MAUND. 122: 22.

§ 104. A. Schrader, pp. 32—37, endeavours, by the aid of the scanty materials at his disposal, to make certain distinctions regarding the use of *þat* and *which* in ME. ABBOT, § 259, states how *that*, *who*, and *which* are employed in SHAK.'s works. For the mod. use of *that* — as well as for the use of the other rel:s — there is a vast number of rules in the still vaster number of grammars and essays. Many of these rules are so arbitrary, or even so positively wrong, that it seems hardly worth while to parade them here — it would be something like reviewing an army of cripples. The employment of the rel:s can only in part be regulated by strict grammatical rules. If we peruse some thirty or forty thousand pages of mod. English literature and struggle through, in addition, the collection of curiosities stored up in the various mod. grammars, we shall find ex:s almost for everything. To avoid pedantry and arbitrary rule-making on the one side and lawlessness on the other, we should base our rules only on (1) the actual common usage in written and spoken English, regulated by the requirements of (2) distinctness and (3) euphony. In the following rules I only state what I consider best, but I do not consider everything else wrong. Mod. usage, in some cases, is more tensible than sensible, and about distinctness and euphony opinions and tastes differ.

§ 105. *That* in MnE is used

A) regularly when the ant. is

a) an expression denoting both persons and things, and the clause is restrictive. *These are the men and the swords that will save us from haughty intruders. Did you see the bicycle and the man that were carted off this morning — the one with a broken wheel, the other with a broken rib?* — If after a similar expression we cannot use a restrictive clause, we had better use no rel. clause at all. It is evident that subtle combinations can be contrived, where sensible rules seem to leave us in the lurch. We can suppose like NOACK, p. 70, that words denoting both persons and things had to be made the ant:s of a non-restrictive (descriptive, progressive) rel. clause. But such suppositions are practically of no value. A passable writer would certainly not compose anything so clumsy as *John and his bicycle, that were both in a good condition, arrived*

here last night, as long as John and his bicycle, both in a good condition, etc., or some other turn, would render him the same service. No wonder, therefore, that ANDERSSON (p. 18) has found no ex. in the whole literature he has perused. Nor have I.

b) *who?* (in which case the clause is always restrictive). *Who that has a groat to spare, would keep it in his purse?*

c) a word governed by the prep. which is required by the predicate in the rel. clause (in which case this clause always forms an indispensable part of the complex). This occurs in periphrases like *It is of the priests that we are speaking. Full of zeal! No — it is of mischief that they are full. That* may here be called a conjunctive adv.; cf. § 106 E.

d) a word without any article, and the rel. is used as a pred. compl., in sentences like *Fool that I am to expect such a thing!*

B) in preference to *who* when the ant. is

e) a superlative, or a noun-word qualified by a superlative, denoting persons, and the clause is restrictive. *He was the greatest strategist that ever lived.*

C) in preference to *which* when the ant. is

f) a superlative, or a noun-word qualified by a superlative, denoting things, and the clause is restrictive. *A three-penny-bit is the most that can be expected from him. There is the finest cathedral that you could wish to see.*

g) a neut. indefinite or int. pron. which can also be used adjectively (*all, much, little, what?*), and the clause is restrictive. *I remember all that your father said.*

h) a noun-word denoting persons, preceded by the definite article (or a dem. pron.) and used, with the force of an adj., as a pred. compl., and the rel., having the same function, introduces a restrictive clause. *He is no longer the man that he used to be.*

D) about as often as *who* in the case mentioned in § 147 C.

E) about as often as *which* in the cases mentioned in § 161 C.

F) less frequently than *who* in the cases mentioned in § 147 B, less frequently than *which* in the cases mentioned in § 161 B.

G) seldom in other cases. — N. B. In the above rules (and in §§ 147, 161, etc.) »a word», »a superlative», »persons», etc., is short for »a word (or words)», »a superlative (or superlatives)», »persons (or a person)», etc.; »persons» includes also animals when represented as sentient individuals, and so forth.

§ 106. **Appendix.** Out of the manifold applications of *þæt* (*that*) as an adv. or a conj. I will here mention a few, which seem most closely connected with the use of the word as a pron. — It was and is still employed

A) instead of older *þæs* (§ 92 App.) and *þæs þe* (§ 112 App.) in the sense of »according to what», »as far as», »for aught», etc.; mostly after negatives.

ne ich neuer þat ich wite nes wið him icnawen Sp. I 8: 83. *A riche man, that under mone Was the trewest that he wende* (for aught he fancied) Sp. I 18: 374. *Ne seȝ he nowhar walke Adulf his felawe þat he cuþe knowe* Sp. I 19: 1102. *Not that I know* SHAK. Hamlet II 2: 155.

B) to express time (»in, on, at, during which», »when», »while»; formerly also: »after (that)», »from the time when»; »since»). **a)** *wes seo tid cumen þæt þær fæge men feallan sceoldon* Byrht. 105. *Andr. 108, 115. þa wæron gefylde . . dagas . . þæt he þa wederburg wunian scēolde* Andr. 1697. *efne nu is se tima . . þæt ðu forlete þine ydelnysse* LS. 22: 213. *Nu hit is vmbe seoue ȝere: þat* (since) *þu weren here* LAȝ. 5036. *Hit wes umbe while: þat com þe ilke time. þat iȝarked wes þa burh* LAȝ. 14260. *þe hwile ðet* (as long as) *ich liuie* Sp. I 11: 12. *To ȝer ben nu ðat* (since) *derðe is cumen* Sp. I 15: 2345. *Til o dai þat he ferde* *To wude* Sp. I 19: 948. *it is longe tyme passed, that ther was no generalle passage . . over the see* Sp. II 14 A: 81. *since Pythagoras' time, that I was an Irish rat* SHAK. As you III 2: 187. *The first night that I came hither* COWLEY in JOHNSON 8. *any time that we are not in great want* MARRYAT Ch. of New F. 4. — **b)** with the noun expressive of time preceded by a prep. which might be repeated in the subordinate clause. *On ðat dai ðat* (on which) *dom sal ben* Sp. I 12: 285. *in the instant that* (in which) *I met with you* SHAK. Errors IV 1: 9. *At the time that I was born* MARRYAT (MÄTZNER p. 435). — **c)** with a negative in both clauses; cf. § 97 Note 6. *feawa daga wæron þæt ðer næron* (but there were; on which there were not) *gehaelede . . huru ðry untrume* LS 21: 146. *him ne ssolde no day abide, þat he ne hurde* (but he heard; without his hearing; on which he heard no) *masse* Sp. II 1: 282. *There was scarcely a moment that he did not ask for this or that or the other* (Mod.).

C) to express reason or manner. *This is the reason that I sent for thee* MARLOWE 1: 337. *I do not like the way that he does it* (Mod.).

D) to express place or other circumstances, when the ant. has the same function. *That* then often represents a prepositional phrase, the prep. before the ant. being only tacitly repeated in the rel. clause. *þe same Mesure þat* (with which) *ȝe Meten . . ȝe schul be weyen þer-with* Sp. II 15 I: 151. *nou I con . . Merci be-seche Of al þat Ichaue I-had . envye* (o: of) *in myn herte* Sp. II 15 E: 53; cf. § 71. *he . . wielded the pen with the same calmness that he did the sword* (ANDERSSON p. 11). *they all belonged to the same ship that I did* MARRYAT Pet. S. 4. *In all the countries that I have been* (Mod.).

E) as the combining element in periphrases like *Nis þæt feor heonon mil-gemearces, þæt se mere standeð* Beow. 1362. *It was at the opera that they met* (Mod.). Cf. § 105 c.

§ 107. *Se þe* etc. — For the inflection of *se* see § 87; *þe* is inflexible. As nom. sing. masc. occurs also *þe þe*. It is often doubtful whether *se* etc. is to be considered as ant. or as forming part of the rel.; cf. **Chapt. I.**

The forms *se þe* (*seþe*), *seo þe*, *þætte*, (*þæt þe*), *þæs þe*, *þære þe*, *þara þe*, *þone þe* were fairly common from the 8th till the 11th cent. Then they gradually disappeared, usually replaced by *þat* or *þe*; *se þe* was still in use at the end of the 12th cent. The inst. forms were very rare, if, indeed, they were used at all. *þe þe* was never very common, but remained with *þæm þe* and *þa þe* till about the middle of the 13th cent.

§ 108. Examples.

Gæþ eft se þe (whoever) *mot* Beow. 603. *Gebletsod is se ðe com on Godes naman* ASR 14 A: 41. *ic eom seþe nu niwan com* LS 21: 380. *Se þe last wot he seið ofte mast* Sp. I 17 B: 112. *to þam tungerefan, se þe his ealdormonn wæs* ASR 10: 53. *swælc monn se ðe to minum ærfe foe, ðonne gedele he ælcum . .* Chart. 41: 31; cf. the remark on Chart. 39: 13 in § 88. *ne mihton oncnawan þæt cynebearn* (i. e. Christ) *se ðe acenned wearð* Andr. 566. *se hwita helm hafelan werede se þe meregrundas mengan scolde* Beow. 1449. *þam Ælmihtigum to wurðmynte, se þe leofað . . a butan ende* ASR 14 B: 217. *Eft he cwæð se ðe wið hine sprecende wæs* Be. 342: 31. *þæt þu . . his bebodu healde, se ðe þe . . generede* Be. 132: 28. *sua chuælc seðe þissum cnæhte onfoæð, mec onfoað; and suahua seðe mec onfoað . .* Luke ed. BOUTERWEK 9: 48 (KOCH § 353); cf. §§ 153, 168.

Frægn þa fromlice seo þe forht ne wæs . . , hwonan his cyme wære Jul. 258. *þa wearð hire swustor sexburh gehadod . . seo ðe ær wæs cwen* LS 20: 72. *Seo ilce burg Babylonia seo ðe mæst wæs . . , seo is nu læst* Or. 74: 22. *Ea dig is heora yld seo ðe . . moste for Criste þrowian* ASR 14 B: 111.

For *þætte* see §§ 113—114.

ongunnon ealle . . biddan þæs ðe he bæd ASR 9: 37. *Ingild wæs Ines broþur . Westseaxna cyninges . þæs þe eft ferde to Sancte Petre* ASC 126: 13. *Ne gelyfe ic me nu þæs leohtes furdor þæs þe he* (i. e. God) *him þenceð lange neotan* Gen. 401.

se wæs ordfruma earmre lafe þære þe þam hæðenan hyran sceolde Dan. 153. *he awende cristes boc . . to læden-spræce on þære ðe we leorniað* LS 15: 110.

For *þara þe* see §§ 75—85.

(Lucifer) *noðde wurðian þone þe hine geworhte* ASR 13: 79. *se wæs Hroþgare hæleþa leofost . . , þone ðe heo on ræste abreot* Beow. 1298. *eorla drihten . . þone cenne heht golde forgyldan þone ðe Grendel . . acwealde* Beow. 1054.

ðylæs he mislicige ðæm þe he hiene ær selfne gesealde Cp. 130: 2. *uppen þan þe hit faled; he scal uaren of londe* LAZ. 13859. *nylæ . . helpen ðæs folces mid ðæm þe* (with that wherewith) *he his healp* Cp. 44: 5. *þo þe untrewnesse*

deden þan þe he solden ben holde Sp. I 17 B: 269. *him arn on last . . genip, þam þe se þeoden self sceop nihte naman* Gen. 139. *us þam þe God swa micle heanesse . . forgifen hafað; is seo mæste ðearf* Di. 68: 6.

þo þe ferden biforen him . and ðo þe after him comen . remden lude stefne Sp. I 4: 30. *þeo þe haveþ bile i-hoked . . Alle heo beoþ of mine kundrede* Sp. I 16: 1675. *forþon þe þæt munecas wæron þa þe hider coman* Be. 158: 31. *þa ðe utgongað of mute, þa seondan þe þone monnan besmited* Be. 80: 9. *ic ðe betæce, Drihten! þine bearn ða ðe þin gelaðung . . ðe gestrynde* ASR 14 A: 314. *Uyrmas mec ni aefun . . ða ði goelu godueþ . . fractuath* Leid. A: 10. *Heht þa wigena weard þa wisestan snude to sionode þa þe snyttro cræft . . gefrigen hæfdon* El. 154. *þe (who) al þis heom hæweð isend þa þe ligged inne swile sunne* Sp. I 3 B: 42. *þæt hie . . ða ne screncen ða þe gað on ryhtne weg* Cp. 58: 19. *gefað feldas & alle ða ðe (omnia quae) in him sind* VP 95: 12; cf. § 71. — For the sing. *þa þe* I have found only the contestable Dan. 142 (§ 29 a). **Note.** In *se anda ða þe he hæfde to his breðer . . , se anda weað to sæde ðæs broðorsleges* Cp. 234: 6, quoted by WÜLFING, § 287, under the heading »Das Geschlecht des relativen Fürwortes stimmt nicht mit dem Geschlechte des Wortes überein, auf das es sich bezieht», I do not believe that *ða* is any pron. at all, but a particle. Cf. *þæt folc þa . . þæt on ðam scipon wæron . fercodon eft to Lundene* ASC 260: 28. *Se cniht þa Stacteus, ðe of deaðe aras, samod mid þam gebroðrum astrehte hine to Iohannes fotsiwaðum* ASR 14: 187. *he ða ure hælend se þe . . lif sylð . . he hi awehte ða of ðam slepe* LS 23: 429. *Ða nietenu ðonne þe he geseah . . getacnað ðonne mon hwæt rýhllices . . gedencet* Cp. 154: 23.

For *þe þe* see § 111.

§ 109. Prep:s which governed *þam þe*, *þære þe*, etc., regularly preceded. *uppen þan þe hit faled; he scal uaren of londe* LA₃. 13859 (§ 62). *he hlynode uppan his breoste . on ðam þe wæs behyd [eall] se heofonlica wisdom* LS 15: 161. *forewæs . . Myrcna mægþe & Middelengla & Lindesfarena, in eallum ðam ðe (in quibus cunctis) Wulfhere . . rices anweald hæfde* Be. ed. SMITH 570: 25; WÜLFING, § 281 d, gives the correct translation, marked with a (?), but misunderstands the construction, thinking that *ðam* is ant., and that *ðe* alone »vertritt den Instrumentalis eines relativen Fürwortes». *he awende cristes boc . . to læden-spræce on þære ðe we leorniað* LS 15: 110. *þancigende . . þam halgan were . þurh þone ðe hi wurdon onlihte* LS 22: 97.

§ 110. *Se þe* is used for *seo þe* (cf. § 91) in *forhævon þonne se þe blodryne þrowað monaðadle, ne afeað hire in Drihtnes cirican gongan?* Be. 78: 16. *Grendles modor ides aglæcwif yrmþe gemunde se þe wæteregeasan wunian scolde* Beow. 1260. *Sona þæt onfunde se ðe (referring to Grendel's mother) floda begong . . beheold* Beow. 1497. *oþ þæt hine ylðo benam mægenes wynnnum, se þe oft*

manegum scod Beow. 1887. *nu seo hand liged se þe eow welhwyltra wilna dohte* Beow. 1344. Beow. 2685. Cf. NADER § 99 a.

§ 111. *þe þe*. Both in this collocation and as definite article *þe* is found in the place of *se* even as early as in ÆLFRED'S writings. SIEVERS' note to § 337 »Für *se*, steht in sehr späten texten öfter *seo* wie im fem. Noch später tritt *þe*, *þeo* für *se*, *seo* ein» is therefore not quite correct. Cf. WÜLFING § 147. 4, also *se* and *the* in Heliand. *De þe wille fullice anweald agan . he sceal tilian . .* Bo. 164: 21. *þe þe godes milche secð iwis he mai hes finden* Sp. I 17 B: 219. Sp. I 17 B: 134; A: 62. *Alse wel se* (as well as) *þe þe hæved goldes fele manke* Sp. I 17 B: 70. Sp. I 17 B: 66. *utan biddan . . God ðe ðe eardian deþ þa anmodan in his fæder huse* Be. ed. SMITH 502: 18 (WÜLFING). *To þam us læde þe leofæ drihten Crist. þe þe is soð wisdom and sawle lif þe ðe mid his ece fæder . . leofæð and rixæð* LS Notes p. 544. *Alle godes lazes hie fulleð þe newe and þe ealde þe þe þos two lues halt* Sp. I 17 B: 314.

Note. FLAMME, § 60. 4, quotes *þin mildheortnes is mid eallum þæm cynne þe þe him ondrædaþ* BH 159: 8 under the heading »Verdoppelung der Partikel *þe* findet sich». WÜLFING, § 294, states: »Verdoppelt wird *þe* selten». He refers to FLAMME, and quotes Be. ed. SMITH 502: 18, Bo. 164: 21 (see above), and *þeað þu ful raðe ne mæge beo cuman to þam ðe ðe þu wilnast* So. 342: 7. Neither FLAMME nor WÜLFING have understood this *þe þe*, nor have they attempted any explanation. As we have already seen, it is not the particle *þe* that is »verdoppelt» in Be. and Bo. And in BH and So. the second *þe* is not the particle, but the acc. and dat. of *þu*, the sense being: »Thy mercy is with all the generation which feareth Thee» (cf. *Dol biþ se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ* Seef. 106; *þin mildheortnes, mihtig drihten, . . standeð . . ofer ealle þa þe ondrædað him* Psal. 102: 16), and: »although thou mayst not have come full fast to that which (for thyself) thou desirest» (cf. *wilnað him sumere rot-hwile* Ps. 14: sup.). The order of the words *þe þe þu* makes no difficulty; cf. *ðæs ðe . . ðe man tihð* Durh. 10. *Hie þa Lacedemonia lustlice þære sibbe hirsmedan for þæm lytlan ege þe him mon gebed* Or. 94: 27. For such »Verdoppelungen» I could give dozens of ex:s.

§ 112. *þæs þe*, *þære þe*, *þe*, *þara þe* were very seldom used as possessive gen:s. One ex. is given in § 85. When the rel. *þæs* etc. in such a function was supported by a following *þe*, this *þe* could be placed after the noun which the gen. qualified; cf. § 145 Bb. *Guman glædmode god wurdædon, under þæs fædme þe* (under whose protection) *geflymed wearð frece fyres hæto* Dan. 261.

Appendix. *þæs þe*, or *þæs* before *þe*, was often used adverbially; for one of its many significations cf. § 92 App. *ðera oðer wæs, þæs þe* (»secundum quod») *hie gewislicost gewitan meahton, idese onlicnes* Beow. 1350. *he . . georne ðæs þe* (in what; as far as) *he mihte earmum mannum ælmyssan dælde* LS 23:

223. As an adverbial gen. it is, in my opinion, easily explained also in *þæt þæt we wyrd hataþ . þæt biþ Godes weorc þe he ælce dæg wyrcþ . ægþer ge þæs þe* (in what) *we geseoþ . ge þæs þe us ungesewenlic biþ*, where WÜLFING, § 293, boldly declares: »*þæs þe statt þæt þe findet sich Bo. 336: 9*», and in *swiðost ealle hys speda hy forspendað mid þan langan legere þæs deadan mannes inne, and þæs þe* (by what) *hy be þæm wegum alegeað Or. 21: 9*, of which SWEET, in ASR, p. 193, remarks that »*þæs þe* is loosely dependent on *legere* in the preceding line», an explanation which I do not understand and, in consequence, cannot possibly accept. — *To þæs þe* has probably a local signification (»to the place where») in *Beow. 714, 1967, 2410*. Very doubtful is *Beow. 1585*; see NADER § 114; otherwise HEYNE p. 273 a.

§ 113. *Þætte* (*þæt þe*) was properly neut. sing. and was used accordingly; cf. § 96.

A) *oft buton synne bið doen þætte of synne cymeð Be. 80: 1. Do a þætte duge! Lehr. 4. & ðætte tæhwierðes on him sie, ðæt hie ðæt tælen Cp. 194: 24; cf. § 90. eall þet þe Gode wæs lað . . eall þet wæs gewunelic on þisan lande ASC 364: 37; cf. § 71. þat non man ne don oðere . buton þat þe he wolde þat me ded[e] him Sp. I 1: 84.*

B) *Ono nu þæt wiif wel geþyrstgade þætte Drihtnes hrægle . . gehran Be. 78: 27. ðæt mod ðætte wilnað fore oðre bion lihð him selfum Cp. 54: 14. we ðæt hyrdon hæleð eahtian . . , þætte in dagum gelamp Maximianes Jul. 2. Cp. 60: 16 (cf. § 90). Is nu fela folca þætte fyrngewritu healdan wille Lehr. 67. þæt ge nanuht mid eow nabbað fæstes ne stronges þætte þurhwunigean mæge Or. 74: 28.*

C) *untrum ongon þurh his gebed þa freceðisse þæs fyres onweg adrifan, þætte ær seo trume hond strongra monna . . don ne meakte Be. 118: 10. swelce sibbe . . , þætte twa þeoda ær habban ne mehton, ne, ðætte læsse wæs, twa gemægþa Or. 108: 2. Or. 128: 18. he . . sette his halie lage . and þat þe more is . ȝiaf miht and strence þe . . his hesne to fulfordie Sp. I 1: 112.*

§ 114. But *þætte* also occurs with a fem. or plur. ant. (cf. § 97). *selfsæde þæt seo dæd his nære . . , þætte ealre worolde swelce sibbe bringan mehte, þætte twa þeoda ær habban ne mehton Or. 106: 34; 108: 1. fer ealle ða halgan Godes ciricean þæte her on weorolde gehalgode sien Durh. 8.*

Note. For *þætte* in the following quot:s cf. § 97 Notes 5 and 6. *gif hwylc sy, þætte þec . . alyse Be. 128: 26. wende þæt nan nære þætte þæt fær-elt . . anginnan dorste Or. 188: 7. Nænig manna is . . , hæleða cynnes, ðætte areccan mæg oððe rim wite, hu . . Andr. 546. hwa is þæt ðe cunne orðonc clene nymðe ece god? Klag. 17. Or. 42: 6; 50: 13. — ðæt nænig mon seo to ðon gedyrstig ðætte ðas halgan beoc aselle Aur. 16. ac þæt nis nan man þætte su-*

mes eacan ne þurfe Bo. 132: 19. *Hwa is nu ðæra ðe gesceadwis sie . . , ðætte nyte ðætte . .* Cp. 411: 26.

§ 115. *þe*. — This inflexible rel. was common from the 8th till the 12th cent., yielded during the former half of the 13th cent. to *þæt* (and other pron:s), and almost disappeared towards the close of the same cent. In the earlier text of *Laȝ.* it is common, in the later it is rare; in *Orm.* from the East Midland it does not occur at all. It is remarkable that it is not to be found in *VP* and *VH* (except immediately after other pron:s, § 107 etc.).

§ 116. *þe* was used

A) without an ant.; it then meant »is qui», »eos qui», »ii quibus», etc., only very seldom »id quod», which was regularly expressed by *þæt* (§ 96 A), *þæt þæt* (§ 96 B), *þætte* (§ 113 A). *þa wæs eadfynde þe* (is qui) *him elles hwær gerumlicor ræste rymde* *Beow.* 138. *her . . syndon þe* (ii qui) *þine deorlingas beon sceoldon* *LS.* 23: 147. (*Crist*) *ziemed þe* (eos qui) *his bien* *Sp. I* 17 B: 80. *þar-inne beð þe* (ii quibus) *was to lef wreche men to swenche* *Sp. I* 17 B: 254. *þe him seolue for-yet . . He schal cumen on vuele stude* *Sp. I* 17 A: 26. I have found only about 35 ex:s of this kind. — *þæt ðu mæge þy bet gelyfan ðe* (id quod) *ic þe . . recce* *Bo.* 272: 21. *ic sprece þe he me het* *ÆLFRIC I* 462: 32 (B. SCHRADER). *þa seondan þe* (those things are what) *þone monnan besmited* *Be.* 80: 10.

B) with an ant. which, in the majority of cases, was either *se* etc. or a word qualified by *se* etc. (A rough count of a thousand ex:s has given the proportion 3: 2; cf. SIEVERS § 340 Anm.). I have found no ex. where the ant. of *þe* is *eall* or a whole clause.

oð he ofslog þone aldormon þe him lengest winode *ASC* 82: 7. *Nis ænig nu eorl . . to þæs swiðe gleaw, þe þæt asecgan mæge* *CC* 221; cf. § 97 Note 6. *suc (h)welc mon ðe mine gemynd on eorðan doe, ðonne afierr ðu from ðæs monnes husum (æ)lce untrymnesse* *Mart.* 47; cf. § 168. *An woruld-cynincg . . ne mæg beon wurdful cynincg buton he hæbbe þa gefincðe þe him gebyriad. and swylce þening-men . þe þearwfastnysse him gebeodon* *LS.* Pref.: 62, where I, like ASD, render *swylce* by »such» (SKEAT: »as it were»); cf. § 123. *þeos wimmen þe þus liuiet* *Sp. I* 3 B: 117. *eal sio gioguð þe nu is on Angel kynne friora monna* *Cp.* 6: 10; cf. § 90. *se dæl þe þær aweg com wurdon on fleame generede* *ASC* 170: 18. *On messe bok the prest on singes* *Sp. I* 18: 391. *wæs þæt gewin to swyð . . , þe on ða leode becom* *Beow.* 192. — *þone godan forlet, þe him mænigne oft mear gesealde* *Byrht.* 188. *þæt hie mosten þa deadan bebyrgean þe heora folces ofslagen wæron* *Or.* 100: 7; cf. § 90. *ge ileouet a þene wurse: þe godd seolf awariede* *Laȝ.* 13946. *fram þa forme man to þa latst þe w[u]rð et þes w[u]rðes ende* *Sp. I* 1: 88. *from þæm prim scipum to þæm oðrum prim þe . .*

beebbade wæron ASC 176: 29. — *God schilde hise sowle . . ðe made it* Sp. I 15: 2526. *ƿæt se on eorþan læg, ƿe his ƿeoden . . gerahte* Byrht. 158. *Hwæt is ðinga ƿe biterre sie . . ?* Cp. 164: 1. *swa deð monna gehwile, ƿe . . winnan ongynned* Gen. 298. *næs a fela manna ƿe smeade ymbe ƿa bote* ASR 16: 10. *ðær næs na ma ƿe manful nære gemet* LS. 13: 210; cf. § 97 Note 6. *nis hare nan ƿe ne feared* Sp. I 7: 19. — For *hwo ƿe*, whoever, see § 150; for *ƿe* referring to the 1st and 2nd pers. see § 187.

Note 1. NOACK, p. 10, says: »Im Angelsächsischen finden wir nun die folgenden verschiedenen Combinationen des Demonstrativs in relativischem Gebrauch: Masc. *se, se ƿe, ƿe*, Fem. *seo, seo ƿe, ƿe*, Neutr. *þæt, þæt ƿe* (contrahirt in *þätte*, selten vorkommend), *þæt* (selten *ƿe*).» It is true that the neut. *ƿe* was less common than the masc., fem., and plur. *ƿe*, and this because masc., fem., and plur. words were commoner than neut. It is also correct that without an ant., in the sense of »id quod», *ƿe* was very rare. But on the whole the neut. *ƿe*, compared with *ƿæt*, cannot exactly be called »selten». In my collection of ex:s from the 8th — 11th cent., *ƿæt* occurs with a neut. sing. ant. 216 times (the ant. being 119 times a noun, 76 times *eall*, 12 times a pron., 9 times an adj.), not counting 35 instances of *ƿæt ƿæt*. In the sense of »id quod» it occurs 77 times. In the same collection *ƿe* occurs with a neut. sing. ant. 229 times (the ant. being 198 times a noun, 31 times a pron.), not counting 30 instances of *ƿæt ƿe, ƿætte*. In the sense of »id quod» I have found it only three times.

Note 2. NOACK, p. 13, states further concerning *ƿe* during the 8th — 11th cent.: »*ƿe* bezieht sich auf Substantiva, hauptsächlich auf Collectiva — auf demonstrative, interrogative und indefinite Pronomina und auf Superlative.» P. 14 he mentions also pers. pron:s. In a thousand ex:s, which I looked through for the purpose, I found 67 collectives. In other respects as well NOACK's »statements» should be compared with the above ex:s.

Note 3. In *hu mihte æfre ænig mara beon ƿe æfre God on eallum his life lufode ƿonne se ƿe næfre fram westenne ne gewat* BH 169: 3, I consider (the first) *ƿe* a rel. pron. (»who», practically = »out of those who»). MORRIS translates: »how might any one be greater than he who always loved God all his life, and who etc.» FLAMME, p. 29, inserts »*ƿonne se*».

§ 117. *ƿe*, used as rel. pron., not governed by any prep., represented a sing. or plur.

A) nom. or acc. Ex:s in § 116.

B) dat. *ƿæm cyninge . . , ƿe he ær Æpira rice geseald hæfde* Or. 118: 28. *Her synd eac ƿa cnihtas . ƿe ic cydde mine digolnysse* LS 2: 242. *eadig bið ƿæt folc, ƿe ælmihtig wile drihten god dema weorðan* Psal. 143: 19. *hie ƿa wæron swiƿe sleande ƿe hi fylstan sceoldon* Or. 158: 27. *ðam lifigendan drihtne ƿe he on life folgode* ÆLFRIC II 298: 7 (B. SCHRADER). *be ƿam deore ƿe he gelicost*

wære Bo. XIV: 4. — The dat. and gen. were expressed more distinctly by an γ -type-arrangement (§ 70) or by adding a pers. pron. (§ 179).

C) gen. *Gēþance þe . . ealra þara wynnā, þe ic on worulde gebad* Byrht. 174. *ne tweode þæs leane's þe heo lange gyrnde* Jud. 347. *þæs wynsuman bræd þe ðu wundrast þearle . næfī nan angin* LS 4: 40. *Ne bið þe nænigra gad worolde wilna, þe ic geweald hæbbe* Beow. 950. — *his seo heahe godnes . ðe he full is* Bo. 212: 22. — *under þām twām consulum þe oðer wæs haten Fauis* Or. 136: 33.

D) doubtful case (possessive gen., dat., inst.), when expressing relation in a vague fashion (cf. § 99). *of ðām mere ðe Truso standeð in stæde* Or. 20: 9. *to þām iglande, þe monn þæt folc Mandras hætt* Or. 134: 5. *of þām muþan, þe seo ea wæs hatenu Eginense* Or. 134: 1. *Gifer hatte se wyrm þe þa eaglas beoð næddle scearpran* Red. 119. *Monge sindon . . unrimu cynn, þe we æþelu ne magon . . areccan ne rim witan* Pan. 2. *he fealh þære ilcan niht of þām bendum þe hiene mon on dæg gebende* Or. 236: 13; cf. § 119 A.

E) obl. case and at the same time a nom. *īam freondum þe ic lufige . and* (whom I love and who) *me lufað* So. 336: 38. WÜLFING, p. 404, says it is »auf-fallend» that *þe* is not repeated. However such complexes are not very rare. Further ex:s: *ða ðe* (those songs which) *hi iu cūðan & mid langre gymeleasnesse ealdian ongunnon* Be. 466: 21. (*þar-inne bed*) *þo þe was oðer mannes þing leuere þan hit solde And waren al to gradi* Sp. I 17 B: 267, 268. Cf: *He axede what [hi] isogte Oþer to londe brogte* Sp. I 19: 39.

F) obl. case and at the same time another obl. case. *þæs . . þe* (by that which) *ða fremdan to ærnad, and nimad* Or. 21: 10.

G) inst.; see § 119.

§ 118. *Þe* could be followed, not preceded, by prep:s. — A) *þæt he þone dæg forlure . þe he noht to gode on ne gedyde* ASC 12: 8. *nyhst þām tune ðe se deada man on lið* Or. 20: 33. *buton þam anum poste þe þæt halige dust on ahangen wæs* ASR 15: 192. *we þe þas sælac . . brohton . . , þe þu her to locast* Beow. 1654. *to þære ylcan eorðan þe þu of come* LS 12: 25. *þæt he him gebycge þæt ece lif þe we embe spræcað* LS 12: 123. **Note.** HEYNE looks on *to* in Beow. 1654 as an adv. NADER, § 108 b, does the same, but asks »Oder ist der satz als präpositioneller relativsatz aufzufassen? *þe* wäre dann dativ». A comparison with the other ex:s in A and B makes me reply to NADER's question in the affirmative. Even where the same particle is used before the rel. and the verb, like in Or. 1: 6 (§ 89 end), I remain sceptical with regard to the so called »uneigentliche verbalkomposition». Expressions like the German »an einen anliegen», »mit einem mitspielen», may offer a tempting analogue. But the ex:s from MAUND. and WYCL. in § 174 will, perhaps, serve as an antidote.

B) In the following exs the ant. is governed by the same prep. as the rel. *He wæs swyðe spedig man on þæm æhtum þe heora speda on beoð, þæt is, on wildrum* Or. 18: 8. *on ðam fætelse, þe hyre foregenga . . hyra begea nest . . þyder on lædde* Jud. 127. *ich wille, that thou suere . . On the belles that men ringes, On messe bok the prest on singes* Sp. I 18: 391.

C) In sentences of the γ -types (cf. § 68) the prep. which was required by the predicate of the rel. clause, was placed before the ant. *ic bidde, þæt to eallum ðe ðis ylce stær (= þæt ealle ðe ðis ylce stær to) becyme . . , þæt hi . .* Be. ed. SMITH 472: 33 (WÜLFING). A comparison with TOMANETZ p. 17, lines 33—40, is not without interest. Cf. also § 105 c.

§ 119. Appendix. Out of the various applications of *þe* as an adv. or a conj., I here mention a few. Some of them are so closely connected with the use of the word as a pron., that it is difficult to draw the boundary-line. It was employed

A) to express time; cf. § 106 B. *þæt hit hæbbe min wiif ða hwile ðe hia hit mid clennisse gehaldan wile* Chart. 41: 9. *þæs geares þe Crist acenned wæs* ASR 14 B: 69. *on æfenne þære neahte, þe he of worulde gongende wæs* Be. 346: 28. *oð ðone first þe hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit arædan* Cp. 6: 12. *þy ylcan dæg(e) (þe) hi hine to þæm ade beran wyllað* Or. 20: 27. *þære tide ys . . neah getrunge, þe we . . sculon losian somod* Jud. 288. *of ðam dæge þe ða halgan slepon . to ðam dæge þe hi eft awocon* LS 23: 487, 488. *þæt wæs þæs preottetan geares þe (after that) he rice onfeng* ASC 364: 27. ASC 370: 5. Sp. I 4 C: 19. — In the following exs the noun expressive of time is preceded by a prep. which might be repeated in the subordinate clause. *in þære tide, þe oðre men (= þe oðre men in) slepon* Be. 128: 18. Be. 76: 21. *on ðam dagum þe ðas . . þingc gewurdon* LS 23: 414. ASR 15: 123. ÆLFRIC I 414: 7 (B. SCHRADER p. 52). — In some instances this *þe* has, in my opinion, been misunderstood. The opening line of ASC *þy geare þe wæs agan fram Cristes acennesse cccc . wintra & XCIII . uuintra* is rendered by Thorpe: »In the year that was past from the birth of Christ cccc . XCIV.» It means: »In the year when 494 years had passed from the birth of Christ». Cf. ASC 50: 22; 51 F: 11; 232 G: 1; LS 23: 486. — Of the first *þe* in *binman six dagum þe se soða God þa gesceafta gesceop þe he gescippan wolde, gesceawode se an engel . . , hu fæger he silf wæs* ASR 13: 72, SWEET remarks: »*þe* . . is here used loosely in the sense of 'from the time when'». But Lucifer, it was believed, fell before the elapse of the six days during which God made all creatures. Man was created on the sixth day to take the fallen angels' place; see lines 94—96.

B) to express means or manner. *Heo þa fæhte wræc, þe (through or in which) þu gystran niht Grendel cwealdest* Beow. 1334. *þæt ys sio fæhto and se feondscipe . . , ðæs ðe ic wen hafo, þe (with which) us seceað to Sweona leode*

Beow. 3001. So I explain also *þæt we ure agen lif forlætan sceolan for þæm ungemetlican feondscipe þe ure ehtende sindon* (with which they persecute us) Or. 80: 36, a passage which Bock, p. 29, construes quite differently. *for þære micclan mæcðe þe he hine gemæde gode* ASR 13: 82. *for ðære strengðe þe he oferswītde þone strangan deofol* ÆLFRIC II 268: 19 (B. SCHRADER). *þat him ne schal beo wone. nouht of his wille. þe hine her on worlde. w[ur]þie þencheþ* (whereby He intends to honour Himself here in this world) Sp. I 14: 59, if MORRIS' emendation and translation are correct. Several ex:s in **B** and **C** allow of different interpretations. — *mid ðæm witum þe he hit swiðe hrædlice* (= *þe he hit swiðe hrædlice mid*) wræc Cp. 38: 21. ÆLFRIC I 176: 27; 242: 32 (B. SCHRADER p. 52). LS 23: 358. Beow. 2468 (cf. note in BAP). Cp. 44: 5 (§ 108 middle). *æfter þære bisene þe gio Trogia burg barn* Bo. 88: 7. *þa com crist sylf him to . on þære ylcan gelicnysse þe he leofode on worulde* LS 15: 74. *þurh þæs sylfes hond . þe ic ær onsended wæs* Red. 56.

C) to express consequence or purpose. *ðæt he ierne . . from ðara unðeawa ælcum to oðrum ðe* (through which; by which means; so that thus) *deað mæge ingan on ðæs monnes mod* Cp. 383: 9. *Ic . . ægwearde heold, þe* (through which; so that by this means; in order that thus; in order that) *on land Dena laðra nænig . . sceðþan ne meahste* Beow. 242. *þa were . . abruden into þesternesne . þe hi sturfe hungre* Sp. I 1: 32. *Mid almyhtyes godes luue . vte we vs werie. Wip þeos wrecche worldes luue . þe heo vs ne derye* Sp. I 17 A: 332.

D) to express place or other circumstances, when the ant. had the same syntactical function; cf. § 106 D. *þreo (o: scipu) asæton on ða healfes þæs deopes ðe ða Deniscan scipu* (= *ðe ða D. scipu on*) *aseten wæron* ASC 176: 23. *Sto-pon . . on þa dune up ðe dryhten ær ahangen wæs* El. 717. *he gehleop þone eoh, þe ahte his hlaford, on þam gerædum, þe hit riht ne wæs* (on those trap-pings on which it was not right, o: for him to leap) Byrht. 190. ÆLFRIC II 508: 18 (B. SCHRADER p. 52). *we comon to þam earde þe ge us heton faran* Numeri ed. GREIN 13: 28 (B. SCHRADER). Cf. *ne þearft ðu no tweogan ymbe þæt þe ðu ær* (= *þe ðu ær ymbe*) *tweodeð* Bo. 238: 14. Cf. also *To knowe a sooth of that* (of that of which) *thou art in doute* CHAUC. 317: 1295. *to whome* (to the one to whom) *I shold be moost debonair shall I be most felon* Md'A 694: 18 (BALDWIN).

Note. NOACK, p. 15, says: »Die Präposition, die in dem Hauptsatze angewandt wurde und noch in dem Nebensatze fortwirkt, behält ihre Kraft in dem letzteren ohne wiederholt zu werden». B. SCHRADER, § 78, frames the rule better: »Die präposition in dem mit *þe* eingeleiteten relativsatze bleibt weg, wenn sie aus dem hauptsatze ergänzt werden kann». WÜLFING, § 300, says: »Ist die Präposition im Hauptsatze und im Nebensatze dieselbe, so wird sie in diesem vor *þe* nicht wiederholt». WÜLFING has been unfortunate in the choice of expressions. I suppose he means: »Ist die Präposition im Hauptsatze diejenige, die auch im Nebensatze passt, so wird

sie in diesem nach *þe* nicht wiederholt». But not even so does the rule hold good. The prep. can be repeated. See the three ex:s in § 118 B. The first of them is quoted from ÆLFRED'S writings, of which WÜLFING treats.

§ 120. **Swilc** etc.; **swilce**. — Regular inflection of *swilc* in West-Saxon:

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	Nom.	<i>swilc</i> ¹	— ¹	— ¹
	Gen.	<i>swilces</i> ²	<i>swilcre</i> ³	— ²
	Dat.	<i>swilcum</i> ⁴	— ³	— ⁴
	Acc.	<i>swilcne</i> ⁵	<i>swilce</i> ⁶	— ¹
	Inst.	— ⁶		— ⁶
Plur.	Nom.	— ⁶	— ⁶	— ⁶
	Gen.	<i>swilcra</i> ⁷	— ⁷	— ⁷
	Dat.	— ⁴	— ⁴	— ⁴
	Acc.	— ⁶	— ⁶	— ⁶

The inflexible *swilce* can often not be distinguished from the identical form of *swilc*. We can look on *swilc*, when used in a general sense (§ 121 b), either as an equivalent to the Goth. *swaleiks*, or as a contraction of *swa* and *hwilc* (Goth. *swe* and *hwileiks*, § 168); cf. *swæðer* for *swa hwæðer* (§ 172). For the way in which the dem. *swilc* became a rel., cf. § 2. — ME forms: *swulc* etc.

Swilc etc. and *swilce* were used with the force of rel. pron:s from the 8th till the 13th cent.

§ 121. A. *Swilc(e)* etc. was used without an ant. in the sense of

a) »such (a one) as» etc. *sy gecoren swilce wurþe beo* ASC 67 note: 6. — When placed like a pred. compl., it had about the same force as a mod. comparative conj. (cf. Lat. »talis . . qualis» with Germ. »solch . . wie»); cf. §§ 126, 130, 134. *Swelc ðæt folc bið, swelc bið se sacerð* Cp. 132: 6. Dan. 350. *ne aron nu . . goldgiefan swylce iu wæron* Seef. 83. Beow. 2459. *ich wulle beon iwil del! swulc him is Brutael* LAz. 18957.

b) »whoever», »whatever». *Godfremmendra swylcum gifeþe bið, þæt þone hilderces hal gedigeð!* Beow. 299. *to scypon feredon eal ingesteald eorðcyninges, swylce hie æt Finnes ham findan meah-ton sigla, searogimma* Beow. 1156 (otherwise NADER § 112). *us eac gehyr holdum mode swilce we þe daga* (quocunque die . .), *dryhten, cigen* Psal. 19; cf. § 90. — Perhaps Beow. 72 (§ 122) should

be translated: »divide all . ., whatever God gave to him» (*eall* not being ant.; cf. e. g. § 153).

§ 122. B. *Swilc(e)* etc. also referred to nouns, pron:s, etc., not preceded by *swilc*; it then meant »such (a one) as», »of the kind that», »which», etc. *Cnihtas wurdon . . forhwerfde to sumum diore swelcum he æror . . gelicost wæs* Metr. 26: 87. *hwæðer he . . þa stafas mid him awritene hæfde, be swylcum men leas spel secgað* Be. 328: 7. *hæfde ða his ende gebidenne on eorðan unswæslcne swylcne he ær æfter worhte* Jud. 65. *lædde þonan micle herehupe. swilce nan man ær ne begeat* ASC 322 D: 27. *man sceal niman VII lytle oflætan swylce man mid ofrað* Zaub. 6: 1. *eall gedælan geongum and ealdum swylc him god sealde* Beow. 72; cf. § 121 b. *He somenede færd: swulc nes næwere eær on erde* LAz. 4153. Or. 202: 4. Beow. 1797, 2869. El. 32. Dan. 66. ASC 254 C: 29; D: 31.

Note. NOACK, p. 17, says: »*Swylc* allein kann auch relativisch gebraucht werden, in den meisten Fällen sich beziehend auf *eall*». I have found one *eall* to each half dozen other ant:s. — Although I have passed over in silence several of NOACK'S faulty and rambling remarks, some of them so entirely destitute of logical precision, that they cannot even be corrected, I have probably said too much of him as it is. For the future I promise to leave MR NOACK in peace, merely stating, once for all, that his work throughout contains more »Geschichten» than »Geschichte».

§ 123. C. *Swilc(e)* etc. usually referred to a noun qualified by the dem. *swilc*, or to *swilc* without any noun; *swilc* (. .) *swilc* meant »such (. .) as»; cf. § 132. *gelde swelc neat swelc þæron befealle* Le. 60: 33. *mid swilce godcunde gode swilce iow cynlic dýnce* Chart. 37: 42. *þæt him mon swelcne wrenc to dyde swelcne hie ær ne gesawon* Or. 156: 8. *be-hate swilc wite swilc he us be-hate* LS 23: 459. *þa weard . . swylc tacen . . gesewen swylce nan mann ær ne geseh* ASC 336: 8. — *þæt heo . . woldon . . swylc of þam lande gelaestan swylc man dyde toforan* ASC 330 D: 26. *selle him twa swylc swylce* (twice as much as; twice that which) *man æt him nime* Zaub. 1: 45. — In the above ex:s the rel. *swilc* etc. is subj. or obj. In the following it is placed like a pred. compl.; cf. 121 a. *hu fela þær swelcerra manna wære swelce he wæs* Or. 68: 26. *hine . . ongytan swlcene swilc he is* So. 342: 24. Or. 84: 27. So. 346: 7. Beow. 1329. — It has a double function in *ne wæs his drohtoð þær swylce he . . ær gemette* Beow. 756.

After the dem. *swilc* (*such*) occur not only *swilc*, *swa* (§ 128 A), *as* (§ 132 A), and *sum* (§ 135), but also *se* (§ 88), *þæt* (§ 96 B), *se þe* (§ 108), *þe* (§ 116 B), *who* etc. (§ 142 B etc.), *hwilc*, *which* (§§ 158, 159).

Note. In *Hî on biorg dydon beg and sighu, eall swylce hyrsta swylce on horde ær niðhydige men genumen hæfdon* Beow. 3165, HEYNE, p. 169 b, ren-

ders *eall swylce hyrsta* by »ganz so wie auch Zierrate«, thus ascribing to *swylce* the same meaning as it has in *eac swilce*, *ge swilce*. To me it seems natural to look on it as a dem. adj. So in GBAP, ASD, NADER § 112. And what does HEYNE himself mean by his »*eall swylce . . swylce*«, p. 267 b?

§ 124. Prep:s either preceded or followed; ex:s in § 122.

§ 125. The rel. *swilc* is an adjectival adjunct in *Mid swelce hrægle he in-eode*, *mid swelce gange he ut* Le. 58: 20.

§ 126. Appendix. Ex:s for adverbial or conjunctive use; cf. § 134. *on swelce healfe swelce hie þonne winnende beon woldan* Or. 106: 12. *ic wæs swelce hie* Cp. 100: 7. *ic wæs swelc hie* Cp. 101: 6. *Swilc mihte campdom beon . swilce* (that) *man ðær mihte geseon . þæt hi god inweardlice lufedon* LS 23: 87. *Swelce* (as if) *hie cwæden* Cp. 4: 13. *swlc* (as if) *he leie on bedde* LAz. 1216.

§ 127. **Swa (so).** — This particle had sometimes the force of a rel. pron. Comparatively seldom it was used as an ordinary rel.; cf. § 131. *be sture meda* (the meads by the Stour) *sue ðerto limpað* Chart. 28: 14. *þæt se ælmihtiga eorðan worhte, witebeorhtne wang, swa wæter bebugeð* Beow. 93. *Beoð godes streamas gode wætere fæste gefylde, þanan feorhnere findað foldbuend, swa him fægere oft gegearwadest, god lifigende!* Psal. 64: 10. *Her Eadmund . . Myrce geeode . . swa Dor scadeþ* ASC 208: 30. *si sterre was seawinge of his beringe, swo apierde te þo þrie kinges* Sp. I 13: 6. *þo ilke þinges so* (the very things which; the same things as) *bieth bitere to þo wrichede flessce* Sp. I 13: 66. *ðis devel is mikel wið wil and magt, so wicches haven in here craft* Rel. Ant. (MÄTZNER p. 495).

Note. Beow. 93 (see above) is not quite certain. Contestable is also Beow. 2608. With regard to Beow. 1396 I follow HEYNE. In the two ex:s from BH given by FLAMME § 62, it is, in my opinion, a comparative conj. In many other instances *swa* allows of different interpretations. Cf. GREIN in GBAP IV, HEYNE, NADER §§ 51, 111.

§ 128. More commonly it was employed as the special correlative of

A) *swilc*; cf. § 123. *swilc man sue* (such a man as; the man who; whatever man; whoever; if any one, § 190) *hit awege ðonne se hit on his sawale* Chart. 39: 14. *þa wigan . . gestrudan gestreona under stanhliðum, swilc eall swa* (all that which) *þa eorlas agan sceoldon* Dan. 62. *Sculon wit . . brucan swylcra yrmða, swa ðu unc her ær scrife* Red. B: 103. *þa com þær heofonlic leoht . ofer ealle þa meniu . swilc swa hi ær ne gesawon* LS 29: 263. *Hwites sealtes swilc swa* (as much as; the quantity which) *mæge mid feower fingrum geniman* Leechdoms (ASD p. 956 b). *to eall swilcre gehyrsumnisse swa he ær his fader dyde* ASC 359: 18. *to biten: swulc deor swa him liked* LAz. 20127. *Alle hevie sennen, and swilche oðre so þe apostle her nemde* Rel. Ant. (MÄTZNER p. 494). — *his hæð wes swulc swa beoð gold wir* LAz. A: 7048; cf. § 121 a.

B) *swa*; cf. § 132 D. *ne ðe hreowan þearf . . ealles swa mycles swa ðu me sealdest* Red. 152. *ahengen þær swa fela þefas swa næfre ær ne wæron* ASC 376: 17.

§ 129. For the use of *swa* (*so*) after *hwa*, *hwilc*, *hwæðer*, see §§ 154, 169, 172, etc. — Prep:s could only follow. *Swilche wigeles, swo ich ar embe spac* (MÄTZNER p. 494).

§ 130. Appendix. Ex:s for adverbial and conjunctive use; cf. § 134. *Se wolde habban swilcne hlisan swa Benedictus* ÆLFRIC II 162: 18 (ASD). *ne biþ he eall swa he ær wæs* Bo. 230: 24. *Ðyn mægen ys swa mære . . swa* (that) *þæt ænig ne wat* Geb. 3: 32. *Beow.* 1048 («so . . that»; otherwise HEYNE p. 265 a, NADER § 111).

§ 131. As. — This particle, formed of *eal* + *swa* (= *alse*, *als*, *ase*) has been used with the force of a rel. pron. since the end of the 12th cent. As an ordinary rel. (= mod. *that*, *who*, *which*) it is found in standard English up to the 18th cent. *iðe wilderness ase ge goð inne . . , beoð swuche bestes* Sp. I 9: 1. *a* (on) *Sein Calixtes day As vel in þulke gere . in a Saterdag* Sp. II 1: 192. *Huere foreward wes to fon So* (as much as) *þe furmest heuede ydon, Ase þe erst vnder-toc* Sp. II 4 C: 12. *The firste Soudan was Zarocon, that was of Mede, (as was Fadre to Sahaladyn)* MAUND. 36: 9. *But that as syre launcelot dyd was of his grete gentylnes* Md'A 215: 16 (BALDWIN). *those as sleep and think not on their sins* SHAK. M. Wifes V 5: 57. *That prodigious Size as we see in many Places* GOULD (NED). — In the speech of the lower classes this usage is still common. *It's he as lives in the great stone house* Lamplighter (NED). *'ere's a cove as expects hopera-singers for a porter's wages!* Tit-Bits 791: 189 c (1896).

Note. BALDWIN, § 110, says of Md'A 215: 16 (see above): «*That as* is very rare. It is used in the sense of 'that that' or 'what' . . The appended *as* has the same force as the appended *that*, and is so used in Chaucer to make relative adverbs ('ther as'), but not to make relative pronouns». I see no necessity for explaining *that as* in such a way. *That* can be simply a dem. and the ant. of *as*.

§ 132. Formerly more common, and still current, is the use of the word *as* the special correlative of *swilc* (*such*), *same*, *so*, *as*. — It has the full force of a rel. pron. in complete clauses

A) after *swilc* (*such*), when this word is qualitatively indifferent in itself and only points to a certain quality or circumstance expressed in the *as*-clause, which quality or circumstance constitutes an essential difference between the individual things or persons in question and other individuals of the same class. *Such* (. .) *as* might then be replaced by «the (that, those, a, an) . . that (who, which)», «what», «the kind of man that», «the one who», «of the kind that», etc. *Ho nimeð al swuch hou* (hue) *alse ho þer on uint* Lamb. Hom. (NED). *Wipþ all swillec*

rime alls her iss sett Orm. Dedic. 101. *good let oc ðu hem bi-se, Alswilc als hem bi-hufflik bee* Gen.-Ex. 4108. *folie it was to truste To such oþ, as was ido . mid strengþe* (compulsion) Sp. II 1 A: 22. *to beginne Suche þing as semep impossible* Sp. II 20: 201. *god . . prouyth suche as he loueth* Sp. III 10: 178. *such moderacion as I speake of, or some such other as wyser men can better deuise* Sp. III 17 C: 285. *they lent unto them such things as they required* HB Exod. 12: 36. *a scene of silent life, such, perhaps, as was never heard of in the world before* Crus. 94. *Appoint to office such men as deserve public confidence* WEBSTER. *he gave the officers such a dinner as the Duke of York might have sat down to* THACK. Van. Fair 24. *neither his principles nor his spirit were such as could be trusted* MAC. Bac. 88. — In the above ex:s as is subj. or obj. In the two following it is placed like a pred. compl.; cf. § 121 a. *suche an archier as men say that ye bee* Sp. III 10: 103. *He is such as he ever was* (Mod.).

B) after *same*. *The same* (. .) as might then be replaced by »the same (identical) . . that (who, which)» or by »the kind of . . which», »of the kind that», etc. *so that it have the same grace . . in the latyne, as it hath in the hebrue* Sp. III 16: 174. *That samyn sound as thay beystis hed blauen* Compl. Scot. (NED). *Bees like the same odours as we do* LUBBOCK (NED). *until . . a Dock trust was brought about for London, the same as prevailed in Liverpool* Times ANDERSSON p. 25). *This powder is not the same as I got last time* (Mod.) — *He was the same to his superiours as he was to his inferiours* MARRYAT (ANDERSSON p. 25).

C) after a noun-word and an adj. preceded by *so*, in a clause of an indefinite, negative or int. nature; cf. § 77 Note 6. *There is hardly any man so happy as would wish to live for ever* (Mod.).

§ 133. For the use of *as* after *who*, *which*, *whether*, see §§ 156, 170^a, 172. — Prep:s can only follow; ex:s above.

§ 134. Appendix.

A) *As* can be used adverbially; particularly **a)** like *that* in § 106 B. *the Doom schalle ben on Estre Day, suche tyme as oure Lord aroos* MAUND. 114: 28. *The same moment as you arrived* (Mod.). — **b)** like *that* in § 106 D. *Vp an hey hul, as mony roches (= þat mony roches vpe) were* ROB. OF GLOUC. (MÄTZNER p. 495). *upon the Weye as (on which) Men gon toward . . Caldee* MAUND. 40: 31. *A City of that importance as (of which) Cassovia was* Mem. Count Teckely (NED). — *In such a way as he did it* (Mod.). *The payments . . will be made . . on the same principles as (on which) the Parliamentary grants for main roads have been hitherto distributed* Times (ANDERSSON p. 25). *whether . . the police force in the overcrowded districts . . was in the same numerical proportion . . as it was in less populated . . districts* Ib. — MURRAY, p. 479, section

24, mentions this usage only after *that* and *such*. His second ex. must be owing to some inadvertence.

B) Even though the use of *as* in ex:s like those in §§ 131, 132 A may originate in an ellipsis (MURRAY, p. 479, section 23), we are scarcely any longer conscious thereof. In *god . . prouyth suche as he loueth* (§ 132 A) it seems no more elliptical to have *as* after *suche* than to have *whom* after *those*. And, of course, in the last ex:s in § 131 we are still less tempted to think of any ellipsis. Quite different are: *at Troye, whan Pirrus brak the wal . . Nas herd swich tendre weping for pitee As* (as that which) *in the chambre was for hir departinge* CHAUC. 479: 293. *these be no swiche tydinges As* (as those which) *I mene of* CHAUC. 345: 1895. *towe such captaynes as* (as those who) *slayne wear thear . . shall neuer be non* Sp. III 7: 120. *Such a Passion as* (as that which) *I have had is never well cured* STEELE (NED). In these ex:s a comparison and an ellipsis are easily noticed. And *such* is not qualitatively indifferent (§ 132 A). It expresses by itself a certain quality or circumstance, which the hearer or reader is supposed to know already, or which will be explained afterwards, but which is not contained in the *as*-clause. We will consider the two sentences: (1) *Two such houses as are built on the top of each other, I never saw before*; (2) *Now I have been down at the sea. Two such houses as are built there, I never saw before. They are* etc. If we will speak of any comparison at all in the former ex. (viz. between the two houses in question and other houses), this comparison is based on the fact mentioned in the rel. clause. But in the latter ex. there is a distinct comparison, and the reason why I compare the two houses with other houses is not that they are built near the sea, but that they have some peculiar quality or other, which is only alluded to by *such*, and which we expect to hear more about in the continuation. The rel. clause denotes only which houses are unique, not in what respect they are so. The sentence *Such houses as are built there, cannot resist the violence of the elements* involves, when cited separately, an ambiguity, which either must disappear when the sentence is heard or seen in its context, or else should be avoided by the use of distinct expressions, e. g. *Houses which* etc., or, if the frailty of the houses is not owing to their locality, *Such houses as those [are] which* etc., or *Houses like those which* etc.

MURRAY and others make no distinction between the use of *as* in ex:s like those in § 132 A and its use in ex:s like those in this §. Whether or not, in the latter, *as* should be said to act as a rel. pron., may be a question of a phraseological and conventional nature. It must also be admitted that it is often difficult to say, whether the *as*-clause expresses a comparison or not, e. g. in *o griffoun . . is more strong thanne VIII. lyouns, of suche lyouns as ben o this half; and . . strongere than an . c . egles suche as we han amonges us* Sp. II 14 C:

126. However, in the quot:s from CHAUC. and STEELE (see above), I call *as* a conj. (conjunctive adv.).

C) The same holds good of *as* in several other applications, some of which are not expressly mentioned in NED. a) *unethe scholde ony Countree have so moche peple with in him, as (as what) lay slayn in that Vale* MAUND. 283: 15. *so gret ordinance May no man tellen . . As (as that which) was arrayed for so heigh a cause* CHAUC. 479: 252. *proffre hym londes and goodes as moche as ye thynke best* Sp. III 8 III: 68. *that amonge so many euyllis as (as those are which) thou haste done: thou mayst haue grace to haue doon one good dede* Sp. III 9: 192. *so many necessary things as will supply my wants* Crus. 97. *the mechanic was not content with so careless a mode of induction as served the purpose of the philosopher* MAC. Bac. 127. *This is as much as I can tolerate* (Mod.). In the last sentence, for instance, it seems quite natural to say that *as* is a rel. pron. and the obj. of *tolerate*. But in the analogous *This is more than I can tolerate* (cf. Or. 86: 5), no one thinks of calling *than* a rel. Both sentences express a comparison between »this» and »what I can tolerate». The real rel. and obj. is *what*. This rel. is omitted, but can easily be inserted in the latter sentence. In the former it seems superfluous, because *as*, in a kind of fashion, fills its place: — b) Of a slightly different nature is *The . . stakes . . were as heavy as I could well lift* Crus. 96. — c) *among other such as himselfe* Sp. III 17 C: 200. *such considerations as these* MAC. Milt. 36. *He is the same as ever* (Mod.). — *He is not so strong as he was* (Mod.). — *ich wolle beon evereideal: ase him is Bricahel* LA3. B: 18957. — d) *As* is practically equivalent to »that it», »that he», in *that* (o. horse) *muste be as grete as myght holde within it a thousand knyghtes armed* Sp. III 9: 68. *The one so like the other As could not be distinguished* SHAK. Errors I 1: 53. — e) *they brake the walle . . in suche wyse as (that) hyt entryd with in the town* Sp. III 9: 126. *I feel such sharp dissension in my breast . . as I am sick* SHAK. 1 H 6 V 5: 86. *there was hail . . very grievous, such as there was none like it* HB Exod. 9: 24.

D) In ex:s like *If they had any thing as that remained on their part*, quoted by MURRAY, p. 479, section 24 b, *as* may be a conj., in which case the ex. belongs under section 12. Cf. *þat he zettede him reue to beonne as þat (as being the thing which?) he izarnd hefde* Sp. I 8 A: 28. *bisohte him zeorne þat he hire zeue him . & he hire walde menskin wið al þat he mahte. As þe þing i þe world þat he meast luede* Sp. I 8 B: 26.

§ 135. Sum. — This word, of Scandinavian origin, occurs in the northern dialects in the same sense as *swa* and *as*. *all swille summ þe lape gast . . wennde, Swille durste zho shawenn off Christ* 9053. Cf. § 157.

§ 136. **At.** — This word is not unfrequently found in ME as a rel. pron. For derivation see NED; cf. REEVES p. 90. *Outtake me . . at ere filyhand me fra þa* EEPsalt. (NED). *he . . for to cristny men, ȝef alle men ileaue, At felle* (He gave all men who fell permission to christen men) Sp. II 6: 82. *Thai slew the veddir at thai bar* Sp. II 16: 152. *Grete costages and expences at I haue hadd now of late* EARL SALISBURY (NED). *That at I sey it shall be sure* Carpenter's Tools (NED). — It is still used in the northern dialect. *To onything 'at's richt, Gibbie wants nae perswaudin'* MACDONALD (NED).

§ 137. **And.** — It is well known that *ok* in OIcel. and *und(e)* in MHG were used as rel.s. In OE and ME there is a tendency to use *and* in a similar way. However, in the dictionaries which I have consulted, there is not the slightest intimation of the fact.

Just as *se* etc. could give up its dem. nature and slide over into the subordinate clause (§ 2 C), likewise *and*, when a preceding parallel clause assumed a leading position, would sink, as it were, from a co-ordinative to a subordinative word. In *Se mon se þe boc-land hæbbe, and him his mægas leafden, þonne setton we, þæt he . .* Le. 94: 6, we have two rel. clauses, which, if fully expressed, would be *se þe boc-land hæbbe* and *þæm his mægas boc-land leafden*. Instead of *þæm* is used *him* (§ 197) and the common obj. *boc-land* is expressed only once, not even replaced by a pron. in the latter clause. Similarly, the idea common to the different clauses is expressed only once in the following quot.s *Nu segð us seo boc þæt God siððan afedde ealne þone here mid heofonlicum mete, and him ælce dæg com edniwe of heofenum* ASR 13: 238. *þer wunied in-ne faze neddren . and beored atter under heore tunge. Blake tadden and habbed atter uppon heore heorte* Sp. I 3 B: 88—89. *þo stod on old stoc þar bi-side þar þo ule song hire tide, And was mid iwi al bi-growe* Sp. I 16: 27. *But he, that starf for our redempcioun And bond Sathan (and yit lyth ther he lay) So be thy . . champioun* CHAUC. 484: 634. I do not mean to say, that *and* in these sentences is anything but a conj. Certainly it can be rendered simply by »and«, and a pron. can be inserted in the translation here just as well as in innumerable other cases. But these complexes show how *and* would sometimes occupy a position where the step from parataxis to hypotaxis was not very wide, so that the original co-ordinative conj. could, by degrees, be conceived as the bearer, in the latter clause, of the common idea.

In the following sentences *and* appears more or less distinctly as a rel. pron. *Her Æpelburg cuen towearp Tantun . & Ine ær timbrede* ASC 72 A: 12, where C also has &, but B *þe*, D and E *þone*. *& him eall Ængelcyn to gecyrde & butan Dæniscra manna hæftede wæs* ASC 157 D: 14, where A, C, E have *þæt*, B has *þe*. *for þe wrake-dome of Menelaus quene . and Elene was ihoten . . for hire weoren . . hund þousunt deade* LAZ. 78, where the inserted

clause might have been *þa* (= *seo*) *Elene was ihoten* or, of course, as in so many instances, simply *Elene was ihoten*. THORPE and MADDEN conscientiously print &, and, but express their doubts concerning the correctness of the MSS by a *þe*? *þa*? in the margin or the foot-notes. — In *the kyng . . charged theym, in ony wyse & they myght, take a traytyse for a monthe day* Sp. III 8 A: 66, & very likely means »if»; but it is not altogether impossible that it means »that» (§ 106 C).

§ 138. **But.** — This word was originally a negative particle. In sentences like *he fond no gate nor dore but it was open* Md'A 710: 27 (BALDWIN § 361), it expresses alone what the particle and the negative together express in the quot:s in § 97 Note 7. When the idea common to the main and the subordinate clause had no representative in the latter, the conj. was in exactly the same position as is usually occupied by a rel. pron., and thus it received, as it were, a rel. tinge. So did *that*, *as*, and *and* (as we have already seen), when occurring under similar circumstances. But whilst *that* in such a position (§ 97 Note 6) was drawn into the sphere of the genuine rel:s by the powerful analogy of a word which expressed relation under the most different circumstances, the conj. *but*, having no such support, and acting as a quasi-rel. only under the restrictions imposed by its own specific nature, was always to remain outside that sphere. With respect to its conjunctive-rel. force it stands, I should say, nearly on a level with *as* in § 134 Ca. As for *and* (§ 137) we have already seen, how the rel. part played by this word, has been entirely forgotten. (*Than* in phrases like the one given in § 134 Ca has, through its own peculiar meaning, been entirely kept from every association with the rel. words.)

As a conj. *but* appears also in phrases like *He found no gate but that (what, which) he opened; There is not one but that (who, what) could do it.* Ex:s in Cent. and NED. Cf. § 143 Ab.

Ex:s for the quasi-rel. use: *I haue no thyng do but I wille auowe* Md'A 250: 2 (BALDWIN). *there's not a man I meet but doth salute me* SHAK. Errors IV 3: 1. *who's so gross That seeth not this palpable devise? Yet who's so blind, but says he sees it not?* SHAK. Rich. 3 III 6: 12. *What mother but loves her children?* (MATHESIUS). Plenty of quot:s in SCHMIDT and NED.

§ 139. **Appendix to Chapt. II.** For the dem.-rel. adv:s which can express place, I will give a few ex:s.

A) *on ðone ðic, ðær esne ðone weg fordealf* Chart. 20: 5. *he gewicode . . þær þær he . . rymet hæfde* ASC 164: 21. *Weard mapelode ðær on wicge sæt*

ombeht inforht Beow. 286. Hwearf *þa* hrædlice, *þær* Hroðgar sæt Beow. 356. *ða* heo . . geseon meakte morþorbealo maga *þær* heo ær mæste heold worolde wyne Beow. 1079; cf. NADER § 113. 1. ga *þær* he wille! Beow. 1394. Nemnað leoda bearn . . *þone* mona^þ . . Iulius monð. *þær* se geonga gewat ASC 226 B: 32. *þer* faure citees wern set . . nov is a see called Sp. II 13: 1015. she saugh the blood Spræð al the grene aboute ther she stood Sp. III 3 B: 1276. — Oswig . . rad mid werode to *þær* his broðor heafod stod ASR 15: 138. — in quarterne . *þar* nadres . . wæron inne ASC 382: 27. lædde forð mid him *þær* he fundode to ASR 15: 186. ænne . . fæld . *þer* he mihte wel spræde! on his feire hude LA3. 14203. in to helle pine *þer* neuer eft ne cumeð of bote Sp. I 3 B: 51.

þær is frequently to be found after rel. pron:s. NADER, § 93, mentions Beow. 2199 (§ 13) and 2238 (*se an ða gen leoda dugude se ðær lengest hwearf, . . wiscte þæs yldan*), under the heading »Das relativ gebrauchte *se* differenziert durch angefügtes *þær*, einmal *þa*; vgl. ERDMANN § 228, KLINGHARDT s. 13 ff.» SWEET, in ASR p. 288 b, says that *þær* is sometimes »pleonastic (often with rel. prn.)» and quotes ASR 4: 143 (= Or. 20: 28, § 96 B) and 8: 105 (= ASC 170: 18). I have before me over a hundred other ex:s with *þær* after a rel., but in no single instance do I feel inclined to declare unreservedly, that *þær* is entirely »pleonastic», or that it is used for the sole purpose of distinguishing the rel. *se* etc. from the dem. To me it seems as though *þær* had always retained at least some part of its original local (or temporal) signification. When NADER, in proof of his »einmal *þa*» after the »relativ gebrauchte *se*», adduces Beow. 488 (*ahte ic holdra þy læs, deorre dugude, þe þa deað fornam*), he appears somewhat absent-minded. To the interpretations of this passage given by NADER and HEYNE, I will add the following: »I owned the less of faithful men, of dear attendants, in proportion as death took those away». In a similar way I would render *þe . . ðe hyne* in Beow. 1436, concerning which passage HEYNE contradicts himself; see his glossary pp. 248 b, 274 b, 275 a. Cf. also NADER § 47.

B) *he eft onhwearf woda gewittes, þær þe he ær wide bæc herewosan hige* Dan. 628. — *þer as murðes sonde is . . farlac is fleme* Sp. I 7: 203. *forþ she gooth and touched hym ful softe, Ther as he lay* Sp. III 3 B: 1285.

C) *ðer siðfet is ðider* (illic iter est quo) *ic oteawu him haelu godes* Vp. 49: 23. — *þet . . schal bringen him þider as he schal al þis . . ifinden* Sp. I 7: 194.

D) *Her Ida feng to rice. þanon Norþan-hymbra cyn onwoc* ASC 28: 22. *þa heafod men . . hi . . into heora castelan gelogodan . . þanon hi manige gedrecednissa . . gedydon* ASC 367: 7. — *to Iudea lande þanon þe hi alædde wæron* ASR 13: 396.

Chapter III.

§ 140. When treating of the rel:s of int. origin we must, theoretically, have a fixed boundary line between relation and interrogation, even though, practically, this line be hard to trace in some instances. On the one hand MÄTZNER, ZUPITZA, A. SCHRADER, and others, in spite of sentences like those quoted in § 143 A, doubt or deny the existence of a rel. *what* in OE. On the other hand Cent. terms *wo* in *Adrawep zoure suerdes. & lōke wo may do best* Sp. II 1 A: 127 a rel. pron. In both cases I do the reverse.

My rule is this. I look on *who* etc., when introducing a subordinate clause, as a rel. (1) never when the word of which the subordinate clause is dependent, involves question, doubt, uncertainty, curiosity, (2) sometimes when it involves narration, utterance, perception, remembrance, knowledge, (3) always when it has some other signification. Further, with regard to 2, I make the following distinction. The sentence *I let A. know what B. had told* may mean (a) »I informed A. that B. had told such a thing» (B. being expressly mentioned as the one who used the words, so that these were of importance not exactly of themselves but as being uttered by B.). My information may have been given in reply to the question: »What did B. tell?» or »Did B. say anything?» But the same sentence may also mean (b) »I told A. the same thing that B. had told me» (B. never being mentioned as my authority, so that the thing told, not its source, was the sole matter of interest). My words, then, were preceded by no question at all, or possibly by »what news?» or such like. Similarly, *I know what B. recited* may mean (a) »I know that B. recited such a piece», (b) »I know (I could recite) the same piece that B. recited». Now, in the former case I call *what* an int., in the latter a rel. pron.

In following this rule I hardly run the risk of getting too many rel:s, possibly of getting too few. For *that* (cf. French *ce qui*) was used occasionally where the mod. language would require *what*, e. g. *þat holi man hadde gret wonder . þat heo was* Sp. II 1 B: 75, and as we are little inclined ever to term *that* an int., and *what* could possibly have been employed here with the same force as *þat*, we may, by following the above rule, leave out of consideration *what*, perhaps, should be considered as rel:s; cf. § 143 Aa Note. But even if we disregard such doubtful cases, and others where the context is not so clear that we can make any nice distinctions, we still have enough to prove that *who* and *what* were used relatively in OE, at the same time as we must discard many ex:s for the rel. use given by various essayists, grammarians, and lexicographers. Although some of those authors who, by all means, want to banish the rel. *what* into ME, quote both the Bible and Cicero in support of their views (cf. A. SCHRADER, pp. 20—21). I cannot admit that *næfdon hwæt hi*

æton (§ 143 Aa) should imply interrogation, doubt, or such like. *Hwæt* is there an indefinite pron. used relatively, i. e. it is a general rel. The negative and the pron. form together an equivalent to a negative pron. + a rel. («nothing that»). The Lindisf. and Rushw. MSS. have *þætte* and *ðæt þæt*. Besides I do not know from where ZUPITZA has got his «Nec habebant quid manducarent». The Vulgate has *quod*, and in classical Lat. we should certainly find the same.

§ 141. *Hwa* (who) etc. — Inflection:

		OE	ME	MnE
Nom.	Masc.	<i>hwa</i>	<i>hwa, who</i>	<i>who</i>
	Neut.	<i>hwæt</i>	<i>hwat, what</i>	<i>what</i>
Gen.		<i>hwæs</i>	<i>hwas, whose</i>	<i>whose</i>
Dat.		<i>hwæm, hwam</i>	<i>hwam, whom</i>	<i>whom</i>
Acc.	Masc.	<i>hwone</i>	= dat.	= dat.
	Neut.	= nom.	= nom.	= nom.

Some other ME forms: *h(w)o*, *wo*, *qw(h)a*, *qu(h)o*; *hwet*, *wat*, *whatt*, *quat*; *whos* *quhois*; *hwan*, *hwom(e)*, *wam*, *wan*, *qu(h)am*. — The ME and MnE forms were and are used also as plur.s. Not unfrequently *who* is found for *whom*, and vice versa; see for instance SCHMIDT p. 1364, KOCH p. 271.

§ 142. The nom. masc. *hwa* (*who*) occurs

A) without an ant.; only denoting persons. — a) as a general rel.; in the oldest ex. it is preceded by a negative. *Nah hwa* (anyone who) *sweord wege* Beow. 2252 *Hwo may þider cume and nule . hit schal him sore of-þinche* Sp. I 17: 366. *quho there-In fell Came no more vp agane* Sp. III 4: 162. *Quha ser-wit hir, full gret frendschipe thai fand* Sp. III 6: 283. *Let it be who it is* SHAK. Cæsar I 3: 80. *Bliss is the same in subject or in king, In who obtain defence, or who defend* POPE Man 4: 59. *Who venerate themselves the world despise* YOUNG Night Th. 2: 355. *Who is contented with little is happy* (MATHESIUS). — **Note.** In *þeah þe hwa wille her on life habban gode dagas . he ne mæg hi her findan þeah þe he sy welig* LS 12: 82, the indefinite pron. *hwa* is, in my opinion, not used relatively. I translate: «Even though a man» etc. SKEAT's ed. has: «Nevertheless whoso will» etc.

b) seldom as a definite rel., i. e. relating to certain individuals. *There be who can relate his domestic life to the exactness of a diary* MILT. (Cent.) *There be who say . . That . .* BYRON (MÄTZNER p. 532).

B) seldom in ME, but often afterwards, with an ant.; the ant. denotes

a) usually persons (animals). *hwam mai he lue trewliche hwa ne lues his broðer* OEH 275: 19. *He nadde bote a dogter ho mygte ys eir be* ROB. OF GLOUC. (Cent.). *bliþe was eche a barn . ho þest mizt him plese* Sp. II 12: 188. *As wyȝe wo* (like a man who) *hym withinne . werp to hym seluen* Sp. II 13: 284 (cf. *And I awoik as wy that wes in weir* Sp. III 11 B: 50). *Theng-lysshmen who were in thre batayls* Sp. III 15 B: 1. *the tender boy, who blush'd and pouted* SHAK. Venus 33. *To beasts, whom God . . Created mute* MILT. Par. L. 9: 556. *Such . . who . . condemn the whole* FIELD. (MÄTZNER p. 493). *It is the two or three who have paid, and have nothing to show for their money, who are noisy* MAC. Bac. 84. *A mirror for the yellow-billed ducks, who are seizing the opportunity of getting a drink* ELIOT (Cent.).

Note. A. SCHRADER, p. 15, says that *hwa* in OEH (see above) is used »mit indefiniter bedeutung». MORRIS and SKEAT expressly state that *ho* in Sp. II is »not used as a simple relative». I will not quibble on phraseology, but I must clear my own position. The three sentences (1) *se wis is, (he) folgað dryhtne*, (2) *se man se wis is, (he) folgað dryhtne*, (3) *he folgað dryhtne se wis is*, express (or at least can express) exactly the same thought: »any one who (every one who; whoever) is wise, follows the Lord». But in the first ex. *se*, placed at the opening of the sentence, is the sole or the chief bearer of the general idea (»any one»). I therefore call it a general rel. In the second ex., on the other hand, the general idea is expressed by *se man* (= any man), and *se* is »general» only in the sense of being a representative of the word which expresses the general idea. It means »who» or »that», not »whoever». And whenever this is the case, both *se* and *who* are what I call »simple» rels, quite independently of the nature of the ant. Therefore there seems to me to be no doubt about Sp. II 13: 284. But the quot. from OEH is of a different kind. In the last of the three ex:s given by me in this Note (*he folgað dryhtne se wis is*) it is probable, but not quite certain, that *he* is ant. Provided that it refers to no special individual, it is ant. only if it means »every man», »any man», in which case *se* is a »simple» rel., meaning »who» or »that». This rel. is then entirely void of independent signification; it adds nothing to, nor modifies in any way, the idea expressed by the preceding pron. (It is the whole clause that adds what is required to express a definite idea.) But if *se* should convey in itself a shade of thought not yet expressed by the preceding pron., i. e. if it should be the chief bearer of the general idea and mean »any one» (as *swa hwa swa* does in Gen. 438, § 154), then *he* is rather comparable to *he* in the first of my ex:s (*se wis is he folgað dryhtne*), where *he*, of course, is not ant., only a dispensable repetition of the idea expressed in the rel. clause. Now, in OEH, *hwa* may still be the principal expression for the general idea, *he* being dispensable: »whom may (he)

love whoever loveth not his brother?» And Sp. II 12 may be comparable to the sentences explained in § 72, where the rel. clauses, having no ant:s, only imply modifications of the ideas expressed by the preceding noun-words. Nevertheless, as we have some unquestionable early instances of *who* as a simple rel., I am quite as much inclined to look on these doubtful sentences in a mod. light. In any case, they are of great interest as showing the gradual transition from old to mod. usage.

b) comparatively seldom things. *Men seyn over the walle stonde Grete engynes who were nigh honde* CHAUC. 43: 4194. *Fanning the hairs, who wave like feather'd wings* SHAK. Venus 306. **Note.** SKEAT in CHAUC., substitutes *whiche* for *who*. Both the authorities (Glasgow MS and THYNNE's ed. of 1532) have *who*.

§ 143. The nom. and acc. neut. *hwæt* (*what*) occurs substantively

A) without an ant.

a) usually in the sense of »id quod», or »quod quod», »quodcunque»; in the oldest ex:s only after negatives. *Gif he næbbe hwæt* (anything that) *he selle, sie he self beboht* Le. 60: 24. *næfdon hwæt hi æton* (nec haberent quod manducarent) HG Mark. 8: 1. Mark 8: 2. *þæt ælc man hwæt his hade to belumpe . folgade* ASC 355: 4. *ne make ge naht don me bute hwet he wule þearien ow* Sp. I 8: A 107, where B has *þat*. *þo fond heo what heo wolde* Sp. I 19: 1177, where an int. *what* would imply that »she only then knew her own mind». *Axe thou of me what thou wolt* Sp. II 17 A 6: 22. *as al þe world may wite . . bi what schal be seid . . in þe ije partie of þis present book* Sp. III 5 A: 41. *what follows more she murders with a kiss* SHAK. Venus 54. *come what* (whatever) *will* SHAK 1H4 I 2: 162. *in favour of what is called the Great Rebellion* MAC. Milt. 31. *to prove what is in itself so improbable* MAC. Bac. 18. — **Note.** In the mod. sentence »now you have heard what the clothes signify», corresponding to part of *nu ge habbeð iherd of þis putte þe bitacninge . . and þet þe rapes bitacneð. and hwat þa clades bi-tacneð* Sp. I 3 B: 84, *what* would certainly be understood as an int., the sense being »now you have heard that the clothes signify such a thing», rather than »now you have heard that which the clothes signify». Nevertheless *hwat* in the old sentence might have had the force of a rel.; cf. § 140. MORRIS supposes *þet* to be an error for *wet*, although he admits that »*þet* often means *what*». I do not know, whether MORRIS has any special reason for this supposition. The circumstance that *þet* and *hwat* are used immediately after each other in the identical sense, is not of the smallest consequence. — The same A. SCHRADER who denies »das vorkommen von *hwæt* als relativ im Ags. überhaupt» (p. 21), and therefore thinks it cannot be rel. in *Gif he næbbe hwæt he selle* and *næfdon hwæt hi æton* (see above), the same A. SCHRADER unhesitatingly declares that *what* has the »bedeutung von id quod» in

uss birrþ itt þurhsekenn, To lokenn whatt itt læreþþ uss ORM. 11401. And cf. his ex:s p. 22 bottom.

b) in the sense of »[the] one that», »the (+ noun) which», »such [a] (+ noun) as», etc. *a very commendable quality, and what (one that) I am far from being angry with you for* FIELD. (MÄTZNER p. 531). *Sophia was left with no other company than what (the company which) attend the closest state-prisoner* FIELD. Tom J. 16: 2. *I'm thinking Captain Lawton will count the noses of what (those who) are left before they see their whale-boats* COOPER (MÄTZNER p. 535). *Like making what (such verses as) are called at school nonsense verses* SCOTT (Ib.). *even what (those [blessings] which) we justly account our chief blessings, were not without alloy* MAC. Hist. of E. (Ib.). — *What* after a negative + *but* has a vague syntactical value, although the whole idiom is logically distinct. We can hardly translate *what* by itself quite adequately; we must take *but* and *what* at once (= who . . not, which . . not, etc.). [Cf. the varying, earlier and later, expressions: *There was scarcely a man (thing) but* 1) *perished*, 2) *that perished*, 3) *he (it) perished*, 4) *that he*, 5) *who (which) perished*, 6) *what perished*, 7) *what he (it) perished*.] Ex:s: *draw no swords but what are sanctified* SHAK. 2 H 4 IV 4: 4. *scarce a farmer's daughter . . but what had found him successful* GOLDSM. Vicar 3. *There are few madmen but what are observed to be afraid of the strait waist-coat* BENTHAM (Cent.)

B) referring to a neut. pron., less frequently to a noun, or to a masc. or fem. pron. *þe fife zife iss shæd & skill . . þurh whatt mann underrstanndeþþ wel* ORM. 5536. *nu icc wile shæwen zuw all þatt whatt itt bitacneþþ* ORM. 1115. *And fret all þet of hwat heo shulde uord bringen hire cwike briddes* ANCR. RIWLE (A. SCHRADER p. 22). *It is I; drede you noght, What was wont with you to gone Town. Myst.* (MÄTZNER p. 524). *Hyi undergete an welle, of wat þe kyng ofte dronc* ROB. OF GLOUC. (KOCH p. 267). *The matter what other men wrote* ASCHAM Scholem. (Cent.). *I fear nothing What can be said against me* SHAK. H 8 V 1: 126. *That what is . . proper in one company may be . . improper in another* CHESTERFIELD (Cent.). — **Note.** In *gif he þæt eal gemon hwæt wit to willan . . umbor-wesendum ær arna gefremedon* BEOW. 1186, *hwæt* may be int. — *Half* is decidedly no ant. in the mod. *He does not know half what I know* (ANDERSSON p. 9). Cf. *þat . . þat ich iseh . . ne con ich half tellen* SP. I 7: 189. *zief we serueden god half þat we doð for erninges* SP. I 17 B: 323. *We ne haue . . no mete, Haluendel that we moun ete* SP. I 18: 460.

C) referring to a whole clause etc.; cf. § 96 C. *For oxe . . shædeþþ hise clawwess, þurhh whatt he tacneþþ skill & shæd* ORM. 1226. ORM. 2831. — *Why deny, what every body knew to be the truth, that a powerful faction at court had long sought to effect the ruin of the prisoner?* MAC. Bac. 40. *that the taking of*

presents was usual, and, what he seems to consider the same thing, not discreditable Ib. 75.

§ 144. What occurs also adjectively

A) in connection with no other rel. word. *thei may zeven hem to what man thei wole* MAUND. 179: 14. *In what mesure zee meten it shal be meten to you* Sp. II 17 A 4: 24. *of what texte the graye frere proveth that oure lady was without originall sinne, of the same shall . .* Sp. III 16: 343. *I made thee miserable what time I threw the people's suffrages on him* SHAK. Titus IV 3: 19. *What little wind there was blew me towards the land* Crus. 84. *the entertainer provides what fare he pleases* FIELD. Tom J. 1: 1. *Now a merchant may wear what boots he pleases.* THACK. Snobs 13.

B) with a rel. after the noun-word which it qualifies. *every man takethe what part that him lykethe* MAUND. 179: 18. *it ward on eches muð wat mete se he mest luede* Sp. I 4 B: 106. *þe kyng . . grantede al his bone, Of what þinge so he wolde bidde* Sp. II 1 B: 38; cf. § 191. *what god soe'er it be* SHAK. Titus V 1: 82; cf. § 191. *What thing soever I command you, observe to do it* HB Deut. 12: 32. *perform what business soever he sends* ASD p. 576 a.

§ 145. The gen. *hwæs* (whose) occurs

A) seldom without an ant., in a general or a definite sense; only denoting persons.

a) in connection with no other rel. *Go . . ethereal messenger, Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore* MILT. Par. L. 8: 647. *Vengeance is his, or whose (his whom) he sole appoints* Ib. 6: 808. *In whose service you are, serve him well* (Mod.).

b) with a rel. after the noun-word which it qualifies. *whose tongue soe'er speaks false, Not truly speaks* SHAK. John IV 3: 91.

B) with an ant., denoting persons or things. It could formerly be not only possessive and objective, but also partitive. When possessive and referring to persons it can no longer be replaced by *of whom*, *of which*. It is found

a) in connection with no other rel. *All þatt zho . . herrde off Crist, Whas moderr zho wass wurrpenn* Orm. 3425. *With leaves aye lasting they be rewarded after here degre, whose lusty green may not appaired be* Flower and Leaf (A. SCHRADER p. 17). *lusty may . . Had maid the birdis to begyn their houris . . Quhois armony to heir it wes delyt* Sp. III 11: 1. *What have I to give you back whose worth may counterpoise this . . gift?* SHAK. Ado IV 1: 29. *loaden with heavy news, whose worst was that . . Mortimer . . Was . . taken* SHAK. H IV 1 I 1: 38. *the merit of such, whose modesty . . would have suppressed it* ADDISON (MÄTZNER p. 494); cf. § 123. *a rising hill, whose front . . was steep* Crus. 90. *a person whose society we like* MAC. Bac. 5.

b) with a rel. after the noun-word which it qualifies; cf. § 112. *he myghte more awayle the . . in whos seruyse that thou arte sette* Md'A 710: 19 (BALDWIN).

§ 146. The dat. *hwæm* (*whom*), used also as acc., occurs

A) without an ant.; in a general or a definite sense

a) in the masc. *Her iss whamm zuw birrþ follzhenn* Orm. 12888. *vt* (for *vp?*) *wan þat lot falleþ: he mot neod wende* LAZ. B. 13859. *þe hy knawe þe . . and huam þe* (Thou) *zentest* Sp. II 9: 178. *he . . gan to preyse and lakken whom him leste* CHAUC. 208: 189. Md'A 694: 18 (§ 119 D end). *whom we raise we will make fast* SHAK. 2 H 6 I 4: 24. *fixing our eyes on whom* (on those on whom) *our care was fixed* SHAK. Errors I 1: 85. *on whom we send, The weight of all . . relies* MILT. Par. L. 2: 415. *I like whom you like* (Mod.).

b) in the neut. *þæt hi næfdon na on hwam hi fengon* ASC 352: 38.

B) with a noun-word ant. denoting

a) persons. *buton wel feawe of wam his lefe moder wes istriened* Sp. I 1: 110. *tær wass hemm bitwenenn An swillc, whamm þezz ne cnewen noht* Orm. 10370. *hwet is he þes were þat tu art to iweddet . . for hwam þu letest lutel of þat tu schuldest luuien* Sp. I 8: 82. *sith thou art that same To whom I seche for my medicyne* CHAUC. 80: 78. *she was a creature of whom the name should endure* Chaucer's Dream 820 (A. SCHRADER p. 18); cf. § 145 end. *Fortune the goddessse, vnto quham In hye Gude hope . . has led me* Sp. III 4: 158. *I haue purueid me of a maide, whom I loue more than you* Sp. III 10: 146. *Hector . . Whome franckly thus . . I spake vnto* Sp. III 19 A: 357. *he whom . . I lov'd* SHAK. Temp. I 2: 68. *the sons of heaven and earth, compared with whom Jupiter himself was a stripling.* MAC. Milt. 25. *He whom it removed was a captive* Ib. 42.

b) things. *on Oct . . Sancti Iohannis . . wæs seo mycele eorðbyfung on Lumbardige . for hwan manega mynstras . . gefeollon* ASC 371: 33. *He makede þane kalender, bi wam geoþ al þe zer* LAZ. B. 7219. *Ydolatrie ðus was boren, for quuam mani man is for-loren* Gen.-Ex. 696. *To wende azen to þe lond . fram wan he er com* Sp. II 1: 238. *she was . . cleer as [is] the mone-light, Ageyn whom alle the sterres semen But smale candels* CHAUC. 11: 1011. *the floure of the lyly, in whome vyrgynyte is sygnefyed* Md'A 715: 29. *those vertues in whome semeth to be a mutuall concorde* ELYOT Govern. (Cent.) *His burning eyen, whom bloody strakes did staine* SPENSER Faer. Qu. II 4: 15.

C) referring to a whole clause. *he wit þone cyng geworhte . for hwan hine se cyng ealles bencemde* ASC 367: 10. *Algate he haþ misdon, þorw whom he is in my prisoun* HAMPOLE (A. SCHRADER p. 18).

§ 147. In MnE *who*, *whom*, with an ant. is used

A) regularly when the ant. denotes persons, and the rel. clause is entirely progressive (decriptive). *I gave it to John, who gave it to his cousin, and his cousin gave it — to me.*

B) in preference to *that* for the sake of distinctness or euphony, in sentences where the nature of the ant. and of the rel. clause would otherwise allow of

either pron. (C), e. g. *He hated all who had had anything to do with it. This is the man who told me that our house had been sacked by the rabble, and who laughed when he said it. I mean that boasting brother of yours, who, after all, did less than all the rest. I prefer those who have not quite so much to say for themselves.* Cf. ANDERSSON pp. 27, 11, 18—19.

C) about as often as *that* when the ant. is a noun-word denoting persons and not qualified by a superlative, the rel. clause is restrictive, or at least of a certain importance for the understanding of the main clause (thus not of an altogether progressive nature), and the rel. is not used as a pred. compl.; but cf. B. *The individual who (or that) arrived yesterday, makes more noise than half a dozen troopers. I will stay with the gentlemen whilst he who (or that) is a wholesale lady-killer, cuts a dash in the drawing-room.*

D) less frequently than *that* in the case mentioned in § 105 B.

E) seldom in other cases; for that mentioned in § 105 b cf. ANDERSSON pp. 23—24; for the case mentioned in § 105 h cf. ANDERSSON pp. 7—8.

§ 148. *Pe who* etc. After the pattern of *which, the which* (§ 163), the definite article was occasionally placed before (*who, whose, whom*). *I hadde a lord, to whom I wedded was, The whos myn herte al was* CHAUC. 312: 976. *How ye han ferd . . The whos wel-fare . . god encresse* CHAUC. 317: 1359. *your mistress from the whom . . There's no disjunction to be made* SHAK. Wint. T. IV 4: 539.

§ 149. *Who þat, who þat ever*, etc. During the 13th—15th cent. *þat* (*that*) was often attached to rel. pron:s (as well as to int. pron:s, to adv:s and conj:s), apparently without modifying their significations (cf. on the other hand A. SCHRADER p. 15, LINDNER in Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit. u. Spr. N. Folge III).

A) *Who that* etc. occurs.

a) without an ant. *azaines kinde Gað hwa þat swuche kinsemon ne lured* OEH 275: 14. *alle hii slozen . . bote wo þat þar fleh* LAZ B: 5209. *who þat entreþ þer . He his sauuff* Sp. II 6: 6. *who that were not deed . . , there they slewe theym* Sp. III 8 B: 90. *he badde the lordes . . come after who that wold* Md'A 267: 38 (BALDWIN); cf. § 72. — *Him ne dret nazt to do zenne, huet thet hit by Ayenb. of Inwynt* (Cent.); cf. § 191. *Ther every man cryeth and clatereth what that him lyketh* CHAUC. 509: 2258.

b) with an ant. *telle . . of moche other thing what that then was* ROB. OF BRUNNE (Cent.). *And al is payed, what that he hath spent* CHAUC. 374: 1125. *Sik lay the gode man, whos that the place is* CHAUC. 589: 1768. *That eny herte shulde slepy be, in whom that Love his fry dart wol smyte* Cuk. and Night. (A. SCHRADER p. 18). *The hye god, on whom that we bileve* CHAUC. 580: 1178. *La Bell Pucell . . Whome that I toke* HAWES (Cent.).

B) *What that ever* is found in Md'A (BALDWIN § 64) and has the same meaning as *whatever, whatever þat* (§ 152).

§ 150. **Who þe** occurs in *Hwo þe enes cumeþ þer . vt may he neuer þenne wende* Sp. I 17 A: 142.

§ 151. **Loc(a) hwa, loke who þat**, etc. The imperative of *locian* (*loken*) was sometimes prefixed to *hwa* etc., *hwile* etc., *hwæder* etc., with the same force as the suffixed *-ever*; cf. Grundriss 1: 921. *Loca hwa ut gange, licge he ofslagen* Joshua 2: 19 (ASD p. 645 a). *Loca hwa ðære mihte age, he mot gehæftne man alysan* WULFSTAN 294: 32 (Ib.). *Loke who that is most pacient in love, He is at his advantage al above* CHAUC. 638: 771. — *Hlystan loca hwæt ða lareowas tæcan* WULFSTAN 294: 26 (ASD p. 645 a). *Don loc hwæt we magon* WULFSTAN 141: 28 (Ib.). — *Bide me loca hwæs þu wille* LS 18: 278.

§ 152. **Whoever** etc., formerly also **whoever þat** etc. (cf. § 149), occur only as general rels.

A) Substantival use. *Hwa efre þenne ilokie wel þenne sunne-dei . . beo heo dal-neominde of heofene riches blisse.* Sp. I 3 A: 109. *touch her whoever dare* SHAK. Shrew III 2: 235. *They . . were but too ready to believe that whoever had incurred his displeasure had deserved it* MAC. Hist. of E. (MÄTZNER p. 532). — *What euere thou schalt axe, I schal gyue to thee* Sp. II 17 A 6: 23. *he wil auenged be* Ful cruelly, *what euere that befall* Sp. III 3 B: 1087; cf. § 191. *he strikes whate'er is in his way* SHAK. Venus 623. *From the Duke Comes all — whate'er we hope, whate'er we have* COLERIDGE (MÄTZNER p. 535). *he . . expunged whatever was favourable* MAC. Bac. 102. — *he was wont to leue to hem oon bounden, whom euere thei axiden* WYCL. (Cent.). *y dare putte þis into iugement of whom euer haþ seen þe pilgrimage* Sp. III 5 B: 88. *that whomever I take or kill his arms I shall quietly possess* SWIFT (Cent.).

B) *Whatever* is also used adjectively

a) in connection with no other rel. word. *a man, that seyde to me, alle thinges what euer thingis I haue done* WYCL. (NOACK p. 47). *Petrucio means but well, whatever fortune stays him from his word* SHAK. Shrew III 2: 23; cf. § 191. *Whatever ornaments she wears are of massive gold* MAC. Milt. 16. — elliptically; see § 191.

b) with a rel. after the noun-word which it qualifies. *I have accidentally no quot. at hand; but cf. § 144 B, § 155 B b.*

§ 153. **Swa hwa**, »quisquis, quicumque», is quoted in ASD p. 576 a, from ÆLFRIC's Grammar 18. *Swa hwæt* occurs twice in VP, both times after *all*, which, however, is not an ant. in the usual sense; cf. § 72, § 142 Ba Note. *all swe hwet walde dyde* (omnia quaecumque voluit fecit) 113 B: 3. 134: 6. — Usually *swa hwa* was followed by *swa* (§ 154). In Luke ed. BOUTERWEK 9: 48 occurs *suahua seðe* (§ 108); the corresponding passage in HG Lindisf. MS has the hyper-literal *seðe sua chuælc, seðe sua hua* = qui-cunque.

§ 154. *Swa hwa swa, whoso þat*, etc.

A) *Swa hwa swa* etc. is the oldest form of the MnE *whoso* etc. Formerly *þat* could be attached to *whoso* etc.; cf. § 149. *swa hwa swa wille sawan westmbære land. atio ærest of þa þornas* Bo. 122: 4. *swa hwa swa þonne cræftig biþ. he biþ wis* Bo. 282: 10. *Sittan læte ic hine wið me sylfne, swa hwa swa þæt secgan cymed* Gen. 438. *Swa hwa swa ure gife . . wansiað . wansie him seo heofenlice iateward on heofenrice* ASC 53 note: 9. *hwa swa halt þis . . bode . þa wurde he efre wuniende mid God* ASC 58 note: 25. *Wua sua bare his byrthen gold & silure . durste nan man sei to him naht bute god* ASC 381: 37. *Hwo se seid þat hie beð hol him self wot his smierte* Sp. I 17 B: 114. *whase doþ hiss are o þe tibi propitiatur* Orm. 1042. *þann he doþ, whase lazheþþ himm* Orm. 10738. *ligge ine ham hwoso liked* Sp. I 9: 166. *Who-so lifes, þai sall se þat . .* Sp. II 11 A: 118. *who-so that it findeth, certes he findeth a greet tresour* CHAUC. 512: 2352. *þat of þe peple who so wolde myzte rede þer-in* Sp. III 5 B: 114. *whoso please To stop affliction, let him take his haste* SHAK. Timon V 1: 212. *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed* HB Gen. 9: 6. — *he mid dede gefylde swa hwæt swa he mid worde lærde* Be. 94: 21. *swæ hwæt swæ nu on us unnyttes sie* Cp. 252: 21; cf. § 90. *nam þa . . swilce lites hwat* (such little things). *swa hwat swa he mihte* ASC 345: 13. *don all whattse his wille wære* Orm. 2384. *what se* (whatever, i. e. whoever) *hæfde richedom: he hine makede wræcche mon* LAZ. 6555. *do wið me Quat-so ði wille . . be* Sp. I 15: 2334. *I you loued . . And euer shal, what so befalle* Sp. III 10: 131; cf. § 191. *Thus sang they all . . With whatso in that Psalm is after written* LONGFELLOW (Cent.). — *swa hwæs swa his irsung willaþ . ðonne gehet him þæs his recclest* Bo. 290: 7. — *þæt hi scoldon cesen hem ærcebiscop to Cantwara-byrig swa hwam swa swa hi woldon* ASC 374: 15 (here and 374: 18 *swa* is used thrice; cf. *swæ gelærede biscopas . . swæ swæ nu . . sindon* Cp. 8: 3, and the OHG *so wer soso*). *he mai wham swa he wule: wurdceipe bitachen* LAZ. 18384. *hwam se heo biseched fore: is sikerliche iborhen* Sp. I 7: 128. *So hit is . . to hwamso is idel* Sp. I 9: 86. *like aspis sting, that . . does wound whomso she wils* SPENSER Faer. Qu. V 12: 36.

Note. A. SCHRADER. p. 30, calls *whoso* etc., with regard to *whosoever* etc., »die verkürzten formen». The term is misleading. Similar inaccuracies frequently meet.

B) *Swa* (so) could be separated from the preceding *hwa* (who) etc., particularly by a partitive gen. (§ 90) or an adv. *swa hwa þonne swa þæs wyrpe biþ . . , þonne bið he . .* Bo. 14: 22. *hie forleosað swæ hwæt oðres godes swæ on him ongieten bið* Cp. 234: 12. *what after so befalle, This entremes is dressed for you alle* CHAUC. 110: 664.

§ 155. Whosoever, whosoever þat, etc.

A) Substantival use. *nowe cristes cors on his crowne . . who-so-euer ther-to says nay* Sp. III 7: 41. *whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it* HB Exod. 35: 5. *whosoe'er gainsays King Edward's right, By this I challenge him* SHAK. 3H6 IV 7: 74. *against whosoever shall aspire to be prince* BULWER (MÄTZNER p. 533). — *Mai nogt longe me ben for-holen Quat-so-euere on londe wurd stolen* Sp. I 15: 2332. *Ne semed it [as] that she of him roughte, Nor of his peyne, or what-so-ever he thoughte* CHAUC. 213: 497. *what-soeuer I sayd to you . . I wyl not . . goo* Sp. III 10: 161; cf. § 191. *whatsoever comes athwart his affection, ranges evenly with mine* SHAK. Ado II 2: 6. *whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was the name thereof* HB Gen. 2: 19. — *Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them* HB John 20: 23. Cf. § 145 Ab. — *whom soever that I commaunde to ben slayn, that anon he be slayn* MAUND. 254: 19. *under the control of whomsoever should be elected* BULWER (MÄTZNER p. 533).

B) Whatsoever is used also as an adj.

a) in connection with no other rel. word. *what-so-ever opinions every man fyndeth with his doctoure, that is his Gospell* Sp. III 16: 334. *by whatsoever kind of punishment he were bereaved* MADDEN 2:505. *Marauding thieves to be destroyed by whatsoever method possible* Academy (Cent.). Cf. § 191.

b) with a rel. after the noun-word which it qualifies. *As if that whatsoever god who leads him Were slyly crept into his human powers* SHAK. Cor. II 1: 235. *Till whatsoever star that guides my moving Points on me graciously* SHAK. Sonn. 26: 9.

§ 156. Of ***who as**, ***who as ever**, occurs the neut. in: *I do bequeathe to thee . . what as Bradford holds of me in chief* Old Plays (Cent.). *quat-als-euer he askes the, Gif him*, Sp. II 8 B: 141.

§ 157. Compounds with **sum (som)** occur in the northern dialects; cf. § 135. *Godes þeoww, whasumm itt iss* Orm. 5564; cf. § 191. *But what-som-ever wo they fele, They wol not pleyne, but concēle* CHAUC. 51: 5041. *whom someuer* Md'A (BALDWIN). *whosomever you take him to be* SHAK. Troil. II 1: 70 (in old ed:s). Cf. Grundriss 1: 922.

§ 158. **Hwile (which)**. — This pron. was inflected like a strong adj.; cf. § 120. ME forms: *w(h)ich(e)*, *w(h)ulc(h)*, *w(h)och(e)*, *(h)wych(e)*, *whyh*, *which(e)*, *qu(h)ilk(is)*, etc.

The simple *hwile* occurs as a rel. once in ÆLFRED'S works: *Hit is scondlic . . ymb swelc to spreccanne hwelc hit þa wæs* Or. 48: 4. I have found no other ex. in OE. In the 13th cent. it began to be used a little more frequently. A cent. later it was common.

§ 159. As a substantival rel. it occurs

A) without an ant.; cf. § 143 A. *to chese of eche contre, wuch hym were leuest to habbe* ROB. OF GLOUC. (KOCH p. 268). *Al Albanackes folk: folle to grunde . bote woch* (what; those who) *him huddle: in wode* LAȝ. B: 2167. — *Which of ȝou þat is most . most schal ye werche* Sp. III 1 A: 260.

B) referring to a noun-word denoting

a) persons. *he hafde many wimmen: bi-hafd to his bedde. bi woche he hadde . . . twenti sones* LAȝ. B: 2686. *men. of huychen þe zennes þerinne byep ywryte* Sp. II 9: 48; cf. § 145. *As he which was of hih prudence* Sp. II 20: 17. *I found out one, Which went in a long gown* Sp. III 3 A: 6. *a bischop whos name was G. . & which lijþ now buried in þe chirche of seint poul* Sp. III 5 B: 95. Md'A 698: 10 (§ 97 Note 6 end). *all those friends which I thought buried* SHAK. Sonn. 31: 4. *It was only those who had gained the deck which we had to contend with* MARRYAT Pet. S. 3: 10. *I will . . . return by the fitting messenger which he has sent, insult for insult* KINGSLEY (ANDERSSON p. 10). Cf. § 147 A.

b) things. *bread and oðer meten, Quilke ben wune ðe kinges to eten* Sp. I 15: 2080. *He bad anon þe cofre vnclose, Which was fulfild wiþ straw* Sp. II 20: 105. *no þing is expresseli spoken of in scripture, which is not þere . . . openli named* Sp. III 5 A: 101. *youre soules (which they care for as the foxe doeth for the gysse)* Sp. III 16: 384. *Yet hath he . . . begg'd for that which thou unask'd shalt have* SHAK. Venus 102. *by such sin, For which the pardoner himself is in* SHAK. Meas. IV 2: 112. *But that which comforted me more still was, that . . . Crus. 88. Nothing is impossible which does not involve a contradiction* MAC. Bac. 37.

C) referring to a whole clause etc.; cf. § 96 C. *Bright was the sonne as in that someres day, For which the constable and his wyf . . . han y-take the righte way Toward the see* CHAUC. 483: 555. *myne annuitee . . . Is alle behynde, I may not paide be; Which causeth me to live[n] in langour* Sp. III 2: 627. *And these thinges he so handled (which was no great maistry) with reasons probable . . .* Sp. III 17 A: 13. *We did think to reprehend her, Which cunning love did wittily prevent* SHAK. Venus 471. *I am a wise fellow, and, which is more, an officer* SHAK. Ado IV 2: 83. *I . . . slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done* Crus. 91. *When the Doctor took liberties, which was not seldom the case* MAC. Hist. of E. (MÄTZNER p. 520).

§ 160. Adjectively it occurs

A) referring to no preceding idea

a) in the sense of »whatever», »whichever». *a) in connection with no other rel. Whulc riche mon þer at-fleh: in to castle he abeh* LAȝ. 5209. LAȝ. B: 23235. *setten frid: to whulchen ane uirste, þe king . . . wolde iseon þas duȝede* LAȝ. 15165. *Lead me which way you please* KNOWLES (MÄTZNER p. 530). — *β) with a rel. after the noun-word which it qualifies. þæt ȝit ne læstan wel hwilc ærende, swa he . .*

sended Gen. 555. *þæt hwilc man swa hæued behaten to faren to Rome . . cume to þæt mynstre* ASC 58 note: 17. *al his men slowen . . buten wuhlc wræcche swa cwic! cwahte to holde* LAZ. 3860. *mid wulches cunnes wite! swa he bi-wæined weore* LAZ. 22131. *Bi wilc weie so he wile To dele niðer wenden* Sp. I 12: 5. — *On hwicche tyme so euer þe mon. of þincheþ his mysdede . . milce he schal y-mete* Sp. I 17 A: 132. *From which side soever you approach this mountain* (MATHESIUS).

b) in the sense of »such»; with a rel. after the noun-word which it qualifies. *But which a congregacioun Of folk, as I saugh rome aboute . . Nas never seen* CHAUC. 346: 2034.

B) referring to a preceding idea. *Lecherie . spusbreche. Roberie . . and alle opre euele deden. þurh wyche þinkes man ofserueth þet fer of helle* Sp. I 13: 124. *þe hord of uirtues . . Vor huych hord . . he wakeþ* Sp. II 9: 15. *every man taketh a sondry doctoure which doctours are as sondry . .* Sp. III 16: 328. *A dozen years, within which space she died* SHAK. Temp. I 2: 279. *the parrot would sing songs and repeat bon-mots . . and laugh . . ; all which proceedings the owl considered as a grievous invasion of his dignity* IRVING 70.

§ 161. In MnE the substantival *which* is used

A) regularly when the ant. is

a) a noun-word denoting things, and the rel. clause is entirely progressive (descriptive). *He found an ammonite, which is a kind of fossil shell.*

b) *that*; ex: in § 159 B b.

c) a word allowing of both *which* and *that*, but the rel. is governed by a prep. which cannot be placed behind. *The whole period during which all these changes took place.*

d) a noun-word used as a pred. compl., and the rel., having the same function, introduces a non-restrictive clause. *He is a sailor, which I should also like to be. He was the greatest strategist — which Napoleon was not.* If the ant. denotes things, the ex. falls also under **a**.

e) a whole clause etc., and the rel. clause is not restrictive; see § 159 C.

B) in preference to *that* like in § 147 B. *He picked up the skein she had let fall for that very purpose and which turned out to be an excellent fishing-line. He hated houses, he said, which, although just completed, had to be everlastingly patched and plastered. These notes are sweeter than those which human voices can warble.*

C) about as often as *that* when the ant. is a noun-word (or clause etc.) denoting things, and the rel. clause is restrictive. *Such were the days which (or that) he spent there. Then he heard the same »Peace be unto you» which (or that) the other disciples had heard before.*

D) less frequently than *that* in the cases mentioned in § 105 C.

E) seldom in other cases.

§ 162. **Appendix.** Adverbially, like *that* in § 106 D, occurs *which* in *To her, the relations and duties of common humanity shone with none of the awful and divine meaning which they did in the eyes of the converted Jew* KINGSLEY (ANDERSSON p. 11). ANDERSSON remarks: »This construction must be imputed to mere carelessness; it ought to be: *which they had.*» Evidently *which they did* means »that they did», i. e. »with which they shone».

§ 163. **Ʒe which** was probably formed in analogy with the OF *lequel*. It was employed fairly often during the 14th—17th cent., in the same sense as *which*. Later it occurs only as an archaism. *of a lofe Ʒe whych Pers a[t] Ʒe pore man drofe* Sp. II 5: 5658. *He knew Ʒe names wel of tho The which agein him grucche so* Sp. II 20: 48. *Than the second batayle . . came to socour . . , the whiche was tyme* Sp. III 15 B: 114. *such, as drunke her life, the which them nurst* SPENSER Faer. Qu. I 1: 26. *the party 'gainst the which he doth contrive* SHAK. Merch. IV 1: 352. *'Twas a foolish guest The which to gain and keep he sacrificed all rest* BYRON (NOACK p. 56). — *I hadde Lettres . . In the whiche Lettres he comanded . . to lete me seen alle the places* MAUND. 82: 6. *Anthenor wente to the preest Ʒat kepte the palladyum, the whiche preest had to name Thoant* Sp. III 9: 13. *Let gentleness my strong enforcement be: In the which hope, I blush, and hide my sword* SHAK. As you II 7: 119.

§ 164. **Which Ʒat**; cf. § 149. *Al Albanakes folc! folden i-scohten . buten whilc Ʒat Ʒer at-wond* LAȜ. 2167. *Lauerd, in Ʒi telde wha sal wone? . . Whilke Ʒat (he that) incomes wemles* Sp. II 2 XIV: 3. — *He which that hath the shortest shal biginne* CHAUC. 429: 836. *he fond a narow passage, Which that he took* Sp. III 3 B: 1153. *he told hym of the aduentures . . whiche that he knewe* Md'A 715: 13 (BALDWIN).

§ 165. **Ʒe which Ʒat**; cf. §§ 163, 164. *thei ȝelden tribute . . to the Queen of Amazoine, the whiche that maketh hem to ben kept in cloos* Sp. II 14 C: 62. *the excellence Of love, ayeins the which that no man may . . maken resistence* CHAUC. 261: 989.

§ 166. **Loc(a) hwile**; cf. § 151. It occurs adjectively in *Loca hwylc cristen man sy ungesibsum* WULFSTAN (ASD p. 645 a).

§ 167. **Whichever**; cf. § 152. *Peace or war — you shall have whichever you prefer* (Mod.). — *Whichever road you take, it will conduct you to town* WEBSTER; cf. § 191. *on whichever border there was then no force* ASD p. 572 a.

§ 168. **Swa hwile**, »quæque, quodquod, quæcunque», is quoted in ASD p. 576 a, from ÆLFRIC's Grammar 18; cf. § 120. In VP it occurs once substantively: *alle ðeode swe hwelce ðu dydes cumað* (Omnes gentes quascumque fecisti venient) 85: 9; four times adjectively: *in swe hwelcum dege* (in quacunque die) *ic gecegu ðec geher mec* 137: 3. 55: 10; 101: 3 bis. — Usually *swa hwile* was followed by *swa* (§ 169), seldom by other rel:s: *se Ʒe* (§ 108), *Ʒe* (§ 116).

§ 169. **Swa hwile swa** etc. — **A)** *his barna sue hwilec sue lifes sie afgefe ðet feoh* Chart. 38: 10. *þider urnon swa hwilec swa þonne gearo wearþ* ASC 84: 1. *swa hwilec swa . . gemete* (whatever I have found), *eal . . ic awrat* Be. 482: 28. *swa hwilce swa he geseah . . ðonne cyrde he to þam* Be. 160: 18. — *wulc swa hafuede þat wracche lif: Ʒirde Arðures grið* LAƷ. 23236. *wulcne swa ich mai here ifon: i þan stude he beoð fordon* LAƷ. 11786. *æure wulcne swa he swat* (for smat?): *þer forð rihtes he iwat* LAƷ. 15302. *Hwȳch so þe mon soweþ: al swuch he schal mowe* Sp. I 14: 82.

B) *Swa* was often separated from the preceding *hwilec* etc.; cf. § 154 **B**. *swa hwylcne hiora swa him se tan æteawde, þonne gecurān hio ðone him to heretogan* Be. 416: 5. *swæ hwilec ðonne swæ . . underðieded bið, him bið forboden . .* Cp. 72: 16. *efne swa hwylcum manna swa him gemet ðuhte* Beow. 3057. *þurh swa hwelces bene swa he gehæled sy, þisses geleafa . . seo lefed God onfenge* Be. 98: 31; cf. § 145 **Bb**.

C) *Swa hwile* (*swa æghwilec*) was also used adjectively, the noun-word which it qualified being followed by the correlative *swa*. *swe hwyle mon swa ðet sio þet ðes londes bruce* Chart. 45: 20. *sue eihwilec mon swe ðis lond hebbe* Chart. 40: 9. *þæt hit him gearo wære . swa hwelce dæge swa hie hit habban wolden* ASC 142: 33. See further in § 160 **A a β**.

§ 170. **Whichsoever** is not used very often, mostly in solemn language. *as well to do good, as evil, whichsoever he will* CARDALE 373. *Thou shalt have Whichsoever thou choosest* (Mod.). — *Whichsoever way you turn your eyes, you see nothing but . . distress* JUNIUS (Koch p. 265); cf. § 160 **A a β** end.

§ 170^a. **Which as**. — The rel. *as* was occasionally attached to rel:s (as well as to adv:s and conj:s). *Which as* had exactly the same meaning as *which þat* (§ 164). *þe smale stones, Whiche as sche ches out* Sp. II 20: 184. *With al the worthy Chooce of his housholde, which as he knewe most manful* Sp. III 3 B: 1092.

§ 171. **Hwæðer** etc. — This pron. was inflected like a strong adj.; cf. § 120.

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	Nom.	<i>hwæðer</i> ¹		— ¹
	Gen.	<i>hwæðres</i> ²	<i>hwæðer(r)e</i> ³	— ²
	Dat.	<i>hwæðrum</i> ⁴	— ³	— ⁴
	Acc.	<i>hwæðerne</i> ⁵		— ¹
	Inst.			

Of the nom. and acc. fem. and of the inst. I have found no instances. In OE it occurs relatively only in certain combinations; in ME it is rare.

§ 172. As a substantival rel. it was employed

A) alone. *He bed hym chese, weþer he wolde* ROB. OF GLOUC. (A. SCHRA-
DER p. 28).

B) followed by *þat*. *Now chees your-selven whether that yow lyketh* CHAUC.
581: 1227.

C) preceded by *loc*. *loc hwæðer þæra gebroðra oðerne oferbide . wære yrfe-
weard ealles Englalandes* ASC 365: 37.

D) preceded by *swa*; the two words were often contracted into *swæðer*.
Swæðer uncer leng wære Cod. Dipl. (ASD p. 943 a). *Do swæþer þu wille*
Bo. 334: 10. *Beon swæðer hig beon, swa sacerdhades swa clerichades* Bened.
Rule (ASD p. 943 a). *þar man us tyhhað on dæg twegen eardas, drihtnes are
oððe deofles þeowet, swa hwæðer we gearniad her on life* Vat. 3: 99. — *Hwæðres
ðonne ðara yfela is betere ær to tilianne, buton swæðres swæðer frecenlicre is?*
Cp. 457: 22. — **Appendix.** It is used adverbially in *ðeah we spirian . . swa mid
læs worda swa mid ma . swæþer* (in whichever way of the two; according as)
we hit gereccan magon Bo. 258: 19.

E) preceded and followed by *swa*; contraction as in **D**. — **a)** *selle mon . .
mittan fulne huniges, oðða tuegen unines, sue hwaeder suae mon ðonne begeotan
maege* Chart. 37: 22. *wit ðan ðe min wiif þær benuge innganges swæ mid minum
lice swæ siodðan yferran dogre, swæ hwæder swæ hire liofre sie* Chart. 41: 23.
hi magon don swa god swa yfel swæþer swa hi willan Bo. 374: 3. *dydon swa
hwæþer swa hy dydon* (they might do the one thing or the other) Bo. 164: 1.
Chart. 45: 27. Bo. 232: 17. LS 17: 256. — **b)** with *swæ hwæðer* and *swæ* separ-
ated by a partitive gen. *suæ hweðer hiora suæ leng lifes were foe to londe*
Chart. 34: 10.

F) followed by *as*. *whether as hym lyst hym self* Md'A 230: 15 (BALDWIN).

Note. A. SCHRADER, p. 28, says: »*Wether*. Ausser diesen interrogativ-
relativen führt KOCH . . auch *wether* als solches auf und belegt es mit den
beispielen . . » (here follow those given under **A** and **B**). »Man könnte bei
diesen beispielen zweifelhaft werden, ob *wether* hier interrogativ oder relativ
zu fassen sei. Im Ags. wurde *wether* ausschliesslich interrogativ gebraucht,
und auch im Ae. war dieser gebrauch noch ganz allgemein. Da aber im Ae.
derartige zweifelhafte fälle nur sehr wenige sich finden und auch bei CHAUCER
nur dies eine beispiel vorkommt, so erscheint es uns natürlicher auch für
diese beiden fälle *wether* interrogativ und nicht relativ zu fassen. Im Lat.
würde hier ohne zweifel der conjunctiv zu setzen sein.» — To what I have
said in § 140 I only add two quot:s, short, but eloquent in their shortness. *Ahsa*

þæs þu wille Be. 266: 22. *utrum placet, sumite!* (the famous declaration of war against the Carthaginians, LIVIUS XXI 18: 13).

§ 173. *Swa hwæðer* (whether) was also used adjectively. *bi swa hwaþerre efes swa hit þonne ferdleas wæs* ASC 164: 27. *on swa hwæþere hond . . swa him gemet þince* Beow. 688. *that whether party had the vycory, soo to ende* Md'A 463: 6 (BALDWIN).

§ 174. The int.-rels are more frequently preceded, than followed, by prep:s. To the mod. *what* applies the rule for *þat* without an ant., § 102. Seldom we find constructions like *with what his valour did enrich his wit* (= *what . . with*), *His wit set down to make his valour live* SHAK. Rich. 3 III 1: 85. In ME a prep. was sometimes placed both before and after the rel.; cf. § 89 end; § 118 A Note. *This Heroude, of whiche I have spoken offe, was Heroude Ascalonite* MAUND. 89: 32. *the Cros, in the whiche Dysmas . . was honged onne* MAUND. 10: 8. *The ston, with the whiche the sepulcre was covered with* WYCL. (A. SCHRADER p. 24).

§ 175. Appendix. For the int.-rel. adv:s which can express place, a few ex:s will be given.

A) *Ic næbbe hwær* (I have no place where) *ic mæge ealle mine wæstmas gegaderian* ÆLFRIC II 104: 16 (ASD). *Ða næfde he nan setl, hwær he sittan mihte* ASR 13: 88. Sp. I 10: 14. In these three passages *hwær* follows on a negative; cf. § 142 A a, § 143 A a. *þu hafdes hwer þu mihtes wrihe þine banes* Sp. I 10: 15. *ich wene beo dead, vare ware ich euere vare* LA3. B: 14135. *In þat siquar* (= *sið quar*, Germ. »Zeit wo») *þai come to tun* Sp. II 7: 375. *I shalle the brynge wher thowce shalte haue A yerls wagis* Sp. III 7: 69. *his wealth doth warrant a liberal dower, Where (whereas) Reignier sooner will receive than give* SHAK. 1 H 6 V 5: 47. *Stay where you are* (Mod.). — *Ridand thar come, ner by quhar wallace wass, The lorde persye* Sp. III 6: 378. *I come from where he lives* (Mod.). — Compound rel. adv:s like the mod. *wherein, whereof*, came into use at the beginning of the 13th cent. Cf.: *þeo þet . . ei þing dude hwar-ðuruh no childe ne schulde beon of hire istreoned* Sp. I 9: 24. *ne hafdes in al þis world hwer-wið þat blisfule blodi bodi þu mihtes hule* Sp. I 10: 18.

B) *to the place Quhar that his V men slan was* Sp. II 16: 32. *Where that his lords desire him to have borne His bruised helmet . . Before him . . : he forbids it* SHAK. H 5 V Chor.: 17. — *het hi faran loc whar hi woldon* ASC 244 note: 41. — *swa hwær swa he wæs he wurdode æfre* God ASR 15: 98. *whærs itt iss itt harrdneþp . . þe . . heorrtē* Orm. 1574. *hwer-se-eauer þe gast wule, þe bodi is anan-riht* Sp. I 7: 180. *He can go where(so)ever he likes* (Mod.). — *This king . . þat . . cofre vndede, Where as þei sihen gret richesse* Sp. II 20: 109. *he . . bounced in, whereas he stood* SHAK. Pilgr. 83.

C) *God yef vs vre ende god, hwider þat he vs lende* Sp. I 17 A: 122. *Whidir euere ȝee schulen entre in-to an hous, dwelle ȝe there* Sp. II 17 A VI: 10. — *ðe folgian swa hwider swa ðu færst* (follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest) LS 16: 156. *Se swote smul ham folheð hwider se ha wendeð* Sp. I 7: 127. — *went on is way, whider as him liked* Sp. II 12: 104. — *Wheder-warde so þe water, wafte, hit rebounde* Sp. II 13: 422.

D) *Ða næfde he hwanon he his wer agulde* Dipl. Angl. (ASD p. 572 b); cf. A beginning. *to munien his ikunde: whone he icomen weore* LA₃. 2034. *In those dead regions whence the cold winds blow* (Mod.).

§ 176. Rough Chronological Table.

—11th	12th	13th	14th—15th	16th—
<i>se</i> etc.	[<i>se</i> etc.] <i>þæt</i>	[<i>þam, þa</i>] <i>þat</i> ¹	<i>that</i> ¹	<i>that</i>
<i>se þe</i> etc.	[<i>se þe</i> etc.]	[<i>þam þe, þa þe, þe þe</i>]		
<i>þe</i>	<i>þe</i>	[<i>þe</i>]		
<i>swilc</i> etc.	[<i>swilc</i> etc.]	[<i>swilc</i> etc.]		
<i>swa</i>	<i>swa</i>	[<i>so</i>]		
	[<i>alse</i>]	<i>als</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>as</i>
[<i>hwa</i> etc. ²]	[<i>hwa</i> ²] <i>hwam</i> etc.	<i>hwa</i> ³ <i>hwam</i> etc.	<i>who</i> ^{3, 4} <i>whom</i> etc. ⁴	<i>who</i> etc.
[<i>hwilc</i> etc.]	[<i>hwilc</i> etc.]	<i>hwilc</i> etc.	<i>which</i> ⁴	<i>which</i>
<i>swa hwa swa</i> etc.	(<i>swa</i>) <i>hwa swa</i> etc.	<i>hwa so</i> etc. <i>hwa (so) ever</i> etc.	<i>whoso</i> etc. <i>who(so)ever</i> etc.	[<i>whoso</i> etc.] <i>who(so)ever</i> etc.
<i>swa hwilc swa</i> etc.	(<i>swa</i>) <i>hwilc swa</i> etc.	<i>hwilc so</i> etc. <i>hwilc (so) ever</i> etc.	<i>whichso</i> <i>which(so)ever</i>	[<i>whichso</i>] <i>which(so)ever</i>
<i>swa hwæðer swa</i> etc.	(<i>swa</i>) <i>hwæðer swa</i> etc.	<i>hwæþer (as)</i>	<i>whether</i>	
<i>þær</i>	<i>þær</i>	<i>þar</i>	<i>there</i>	
[<i>hwær</i> ²]	[<i>hwær</i> ²]	<i>hwar</i>	<i>where</i>	<i>where</i>

¹ also pleonastic. ² general-negative. ³ usually general. ⁴ also preceded by *þe* (the).

Chapter IV.

§ 177. Combinations of dem.-rels and pers. pron:s like

<i>a</i>	<i>β</i>	
(<i>se his</i>)	<i>þæs his</i>	= <i>cujus</i>
<i>se him</i>	<i>þæm him</i>	= <i>cui</i>
(<i>se hine</i>)	<i>þone hine</i>	= <i>quem</i>

occur in OE, but not very often. (Expanded A-types.) For the 1st pers. see § 189 A.

eadig wer ðes is noma dryhtnes hyht his (*cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus*) VP 39: 5. VP 145: 5. *Cuðbyrht . . þæs his lif . . mid healicum tacnum . . openade* (*cujus vita sublimis . . patebat indiciis*) Be. 374: 17. *eadig folc ðes is dryhten god heara* (*cujus est Dominus Deus eorum*) VP 143: 15. *swe swe cester ðere dælniomenis hire in det ilce* (*ut civitas cujus participatio ejus in id ipsum*) VP 121: 3. *eadigu ðiod ðere is dryhten god heara* VP 32: 12; cf. 143: 15 (above). *ne sind gespreocu ne word ðeara ne bioð geherde stefne heara* (*quorum non audientur voces eorum*) VP 18: 4. — *Eadig bið se þe in his eple gepihð, earm se him* (*is he whom*) *his frynd geswicað* Denk. 2: 37. Denk. 2: 38. *þæt is se Abraham se him engla god naman niwan asceop* Ex. 380. These three sentences would, but for *him*, belong to Aa-types. — *þa se wis oncneow, þæt he Marmedonia mægðe hæfde siðe gesohte, swa him sylf bebed* *þam him fore gescreaf fæder mancynnes* Andr. 846 (see the note in BAP). *munt in ðæm wel gelicad is gode eardian in him* (*in quo bene placitum est Deo habitare in eo*) VP 67: 17. *bearn in ðæm nis geleafa in him* (*in quibus non est fides in ipsis*) VH 7: 40. Cf. *munt sion in ðæm eardas in ðon ilcan* (*in quo habitas in id ipso*) VP 73: 2. — *Iorius tid, ðæs ætēlan weres, ðone Datianus . . mid unasæcgendlicum witum hine ðreade ðæt he Cris[t]e wiðsoce* MART. 40.

§ 178. Occasionally we find in OE combinations like

<i>se</i>	}	<i>þe</i>	{	<i>he</i>
<i>þæs</i>				<i>his</i>
<i>þæm</i>				<i>him</i>
<i>þone</i>				<i>hine.</i>

(Expanded B- or E-types.) For the 1st pers. see § 189 B.

þa cristenan men . . , þa þe hi ær . . on . . scræfum hi (*themselves*) *hyddon* Be. 42: 4. — *se . . bið siwenigge se þe his ondgit bið . . scinende* Cp. 66: 24. Klag.

283. *se bið eac eallinga healede se þe eal his mod bioð aflowen . .* Cp. 72: 12.
 — *hwý forcwitð ðonne se þe him God swelce cræftas gifð* Cp. 42: 7. *se biþ leo-*
fast londbuendum se þe him god syleð gumena rice to gehealdenne Weit. 133.
 Psal. 111: 1. *se bið swiðe eadig seðe him Drihten . . forgifeð* Be. 376: 23, where
 WÜLFING, § 290, for some reason or other, puts a (!) after *him*. *þæt se se*
þe him ær geþukte þæt him nan sæ wiþhabban ne mehte, þæt he . . Or. 84: 12.
Eadige beoð þa þe him beoð heora unrihtwisnesse forgifene Ps. 31: 1. Bo. 310: 6.
 — *ðær gelyfan sceal dryhtnes dome se þe hine deað nîmed* Beow. 441. Psal.
 64: 4. BAP II p. 566.

hwæs onlicnesse hæfde Assael ða buton ðara þe hiera hatheortnes hie swiðe
hrædlice on forspild gelæt Cp. 294: 19. *ic hælæn mæg æghwylcne anra þara þe*
him bið egesa to me Trgs. 86.

se Wisdom lærde þone þe he wolde wæstmbereland sawan . þæt he atuhge
of ærest þa þornas Bo. VIII: 20.

§ 179. Fairly common in OE were combinations of *þe* (not immediately
 preceded by *se* etc.) and pers. pron:s like

þe he = qui
þe his = cujus
þe him = cui
þe hine = quem; is quem
þe . . with him = quocum.

(Expanded C-types.) For the 1st and 2nd pers. see § 189 C.

licet swiðe monig ðæt he æwfæst lareow sie, þe he wilnað micle worldare
habban Cp. 26: 5. *Nis nan gesceaft ðe he tiohhige þæt hio scyle winnan wiþ*
hire scippendes willan Bo. 250: 27, where *he* apparently is used for *heo*; cf. WÜL-
 FING § 296 a. *ðe ma þe habraham wolde þam welegan arian þe he (= hi) hys*
ægnes kinnes weron So. 355: 28. *Chalisten þone Philosofum he ofslog, his*
emnscolere, ðe hi ætgædere gelærede wæron Or. 132: 1, where the ant. seems to
 consist of the obj. and the subj. of the clause; other explanations, however, are
 possible. Doubtful are also Beow. 2638, 2641; cf. NADER § 47. — *eadig byð*
se wer þe his to-hopa byð to swylcum Drihtne Ps. 39: 4. *Hwæt se god wære . .*
þe þis his beacen wæs El. 162. Be. 278: 22. Or. 152: 19. ASC 154: 16; 266
 D: 23. *seo þruh . . monegum monna, þe heora eagan sargedon . .*, *weard to*
hælo Be. 322: 28. Be. 442: 5. BH 107: 28. *ðeara saula ðe haer beforan hiora*
namon auuritene siondon Chart. 37: 43. Be. 110: 16. Or. 72: 9; 80: 19. Ps.
 32: 11. — *Seuerus . . þe him se onweald ær geseald wæs* Or. 282: 5. Bo.
 160: 11. BH 195: 7. Seef. 13. *Eadig bið þæt folc . . þe him swa on foldan*
fægre limpeð Psal. 143: 19. *nis nu cwicra nan, þe ic him modsefan minne durre*
sweotule asecgan Wand. 10. Or. 118: 30. *þar beð þe hadene men þe waren laze-*
lease, þe [hem] nes naht of godes bode Sp. I 17 B: 296. Bo. 310: 15; 314: 11.

Ps. 31: sup. Phön. 656. BH 47: 7; 145: 31. *þam treowum ðe him gecynde biþ up heah to standanne* Bo. 138: 3. — *ic gehwam wille þærto tæcan þe hiene his lyst ma to witanne* Or. 102: 25. Psal. 117: 22 (A. SCHRADER's translation, p. 10, is utterly wrong). *licgað westryhte . . beorgas þe þa landleode hi hatað* Parcoadras Or. 14: 9. **Note.** I see no necessity for altering *þa* into *þe* in Beow. 1291. — *þam witgum þe god self ðurht hi spec to hys folce* So. 352: 5.

§ 180. Combinations like

þæt he = qui

were very rare as long as *þæt* was still but a form of a flexible pron. (§ 87); they became more frequent in proportion as *þe* yielded to *þat* (§ 115). *That . . his* as a substitute for the gen. of a rel. is used even to-day, and not only by »ignorant people» (BALDWIN p. 30 foot-note), but occasionally, in careless conversation, by persons who will write a letter without a mistake and play Beethoven's sonatas at sight. Cf. § 99. — For the 2nd pers. see § 189 D.

þær is . . an mægð þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcean Or. 21: 13. *þær þry wæron on þæs þeodnes byrig eorlas Israela, þæt hie a noldon hyra þeodnes dom þafigan onginnan* Dan. 189. *Ich y-zeḡ . . þe innumerable uelazrede of þe holy martires, mid blisse . . y-corouned . þet be þe pinen of þise time, hwyche hi beren to þo blisse, þet wes ysseawed ine ham: hy come þerto.* Sp. II 9: 143. *A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man, That fro the tyme that he first bigan To ryden out, he loved chivalrye* CHAUC 419: 44. *here is a worshipfull knyght sir Lamorak de galys that for me he shalle be lord of this countreie* Md'A 334: 1 (BALDWIN). — **Note.** The two other passages which BALDWIN, § 113, quotes as analogous to 334: 1, seem to me to be a different kind: *Now tourne we vnto sire Trystram that vpon a daye he took a lytel Barget* Md'A 330: 24. Md'A 407: 20. Cf. the opening lines of several other chapters and paragraphs, e. g. *Now turn we again unto Sir Palomides, how Sir Dinadan comforted him in all that ever he might* vol. 2, chapt. 101 (quoted from the ed. of 1634, the only one at hand). *Return we unto King Mark, that when he was escaped from Sir Sadoke, he rode unto the Castle of Tintagill* vol. 2, chapt. 137. — For sentences in which *that he*, separated by no word, is preceded by a word of a negative force and followed by a negative, see § 97 Note 7.

Al were they sore y-hurt, and namely oon, That with a spere was thirled his brest-boon CHAUC. 452: 2710. *this wyf, That . . Hir grete bountee doubleth hir renoun* CHAUC. 365 B: 521. *Ther slepeth ay this god unmerie With his slepy thousand sones That alway for to slepe hir wone is* CHAUC. 327: 76. *it was hir owen child þat in his armes anigt she went* Greg. 748. *there came a man that sire Tristram . . had slayne his broder* Md'A 327: 10 (BALDWIN). *hit is not thy parte to dispraise thy pryncesse that thou arte under theire obeyssaunce* Ib. 358: 14. I remember hearing: *That was the same postman that I used to ride*

on his bicycle afterwards. — Cf. *Of oon, she knoweth not his condicioun* CHAUC. 479: 271, where the rel. is omitted.

Hit rest . . On þe mounte of mararack of armene hillis. Þat oþer-wayez on ebrv. hit hat þe thanes Sp. II 13: 448. *Clowdez . . kesten vp torres, Þat þe þik þundes-prast . þirled hem ofte* Sp. II 13: 952. *I saugh to-day a cors y-born to chirche That now, on Monday last, I saugh him wirche* CHAUC. 461: 3430.

that was she that Breunys saunce pyte took that sheld from her Md'A 345: 11 (BALDWIN).

Cf. *þer ys a welle þat non streem eorneþ þar-fram noþer þer-to* Sp. II 18 A: 110.

§ 181. *Swa hwa . . swa his* (= *cujusvis*) occurs in *swæ hwa ðonne swæ his lif to bisene bið . . geset, ne sceal he . .* Cp. 192: 20. — **Note.** For collocations like *swa he* = *qui*, I have found no ex. which I consider certain. Cf. NADER § 111.

§ 182. Int.-rels were occasionally combined with pers. pron:s either for the sake of expressing case or quite pleonastically; cf. § 189 E. *a gentylwoman whiche we and this castel is hers* Md'A 705: 13 (BALDWIN). *A schepherde, whos ben not the sheep his owne* John 10: 12 (KOCH p. 265). Cf. *He seemd . . to . . nourish . . vengeance in his bitter mind. Who, when the shamed shield . . He spide . . ; burning all with rage, He to him lept* SPENSER Faer. Qu. I 4: 39, where *Who* equals »And he«. Such periods are common in the works of SPENSER and of several other Early MnE writers. Cf. § 200 end.

Chapter V.

Rel:s referring to the 1st and 2nd pers. have been partly exemplified in the preceding chapters, but will here be specially surveyed.

§ 183. Pers. pron:s of the 1st and 2nd pers. occur in the oldest translations, corresponding to the Lat. *qui*. *Ic eom Drihten þin God, Ic þe ut-gelædde* (*qui eduxi te*) of *Ægypta londe* Le. 58: 2. *se us ðorh fulwiht forgefe forgefenisse we earun numene* (*qui tenebamur*) *mid bendum gebundne* VH 13: 9. *ðu sites ofer ðrymseld ðu* (*qui*) *doomes efennisse* VP 9: 5. *ðu eard ðu gesettes me* (*tu es qui restituisti mihi*) *erfeweardnisse mine* VP 15: 5. In VH and VP there are about 20 more instances. For *þe* (acc. of *þu*) co-ordinated with a preceding rel. and thus corresponding to a mod. rel., see § 197 B.

§ 184. *Se*, *þone*, *þa* occur about 10 times in VP and VH as rel:s for the 1st and 2nd pers. *ic soðlice eam dryhten god ðin se utaledde [ðe] of eorðan [Aegypti]* VP 80: 11; cf. Le. 58: 2 (§ 183). *gewundra mildheor[t]nisse ðine se hale gedoest* (qui salvos facis) *ða gehyhtendan in ðec* VP 16: 7. *cynning ece . . ðu were ær weorulde . . ðone acennedne of fæmnan forhtað ylc sawul ðorh ðone usic arisan . . we geleafað se us . . forgefe forgefenisse* (Rex aeterne . . qui eras ante saecula . . Quem editum ex virgine pavescit omnis anima per quem nos resurgere . . credimus Qui nobis . . donasti indulgentiam) VH 13: 8—10. *ða ondredað dryhten bledsiað dryhten* (Qui timetis Dominum benedicite Dominum) VP 134: 20. *ongeoetað ðas alle ða ofergeoteliað dryhten* (intelligite haec omnes qui obliviscimini Dominum) VP 49: 22.

Note. SIEVERS, § 340 Anm., says: »*se*, *seo*, *ðæt* kann sich natürlich nur auf eine dritte person zurückbeziehen.»

§ 185. *þat* referring to the 1st or 2nd pers. has been commonly used since the beginning of the 13th cent. *Namm I nohht Godes sune, þatt cumenn amm to manne* Orm. 10282. *tu þat al þe world fore mihte . . ðivere! was . . to hoker lahter* Sp. I 10: 112. *We þat ofte mys-dop . . we mowen vs sore adrede* Sp. I 17 A: 206. *Ouer us þat bi him stonde* Sp. I 19: 512. *Blisses to Lauerd with alle your might, Alle his aungels, þat ere bright* Sp. II 2 CII: 46. *tel me þis ilke, Hou I may saue my soule . . þat seint art I-holde* Sp. II 15 I: 82. *Milk-livered man! That bear'st a cheek for blows* SHAK. Lear IV 2: 51. *To think of your going and attacking me, that have always been a friend to you!* DICKENS (ANDERSSON p. 16). — seldom with the verb in the 3rd pers.: *Myn heritage I craue of þe, þat is my heued* P. Langt. Chron. (Koch p. 261). *O Lord, that lends me life* SHAK. 2 H 6 I 1: 19. MILT. Par. L. 1: 129.

§ 186. *Se þe* etc., employed like *se* etc. in § 184 was a little more common. *we ða ðe lifgað we bledsiað dryhten* VP 113 B: 18. *us þam þe God swa micle heanesse . . forgifen hafað, is seo mæste ðearf . .* Di. 68: 6. *þu eart se ðe me gerihtwisast* Ps. 4: 1. Ps. 21: 8. *Eart þu se Beowulf, se þe wið Breca wunne* Beow. 506. *nyllað syngian ða ðe cweoðað in heortum eowrum* (nolite peccare qui dicitis in cordibus vestris) VP 4: 5. *werlice doð & sie gestrongað heorte eower alle ða ðe gehyhtað in dryhtne* VP 30: 25. There are about 10 more instances in VP. — Cf. *Eala! þu . . riht cuning, se þe locan healdeð* CC 19.

Note. WÜLFINC, § 297 calls Ps. 4: 1 and the analogous 21: 8 »eigentlich.« But previously, in p. 404, he quotes *þu eart se Drihten þe gebletsast . . rihtwise* Ps. 5: 13 without any such remark. I am inclined to suspect that Beow. 506 has escaped his notice. We not unfrequently find the verb agreeing in person with the subj. of the main clause even where it would seem natural to us to have it entirely dependent, in this respect, on the pred. compl., as it is, for instance, in *þæt ic swyððun eom se ðe wundra wyrceð* (that I am S. who wor-

keth miracles) LS 21: 295. Cf. § 97 Note 2, § 188 Note. — Although, in *Drihten þu þe us manast þæt we wacian . . þu þe us sealdest þæt gepyld þæt we . . . þæt þe us lærdesd þæt we . . . ðu þe oferswiðdest ðonne deað . .* So. 334: 42, *þæt þe* would not be anything entirely unique (cf. § 114), I am inclined, like WÜLFING, to consider it a mistake for *þu þe*, particularly as the whole passage swarms with *þæt*'s, *þu*'s, and *þe*'s.

§ 187. What degree of rel. force can be ascribed to the pers. pron:s in § 183, is questionable; certain it is, however, that *ic*, *þu* never reached the same stage as *se*, which, with equal facility, was employed both as a rel. and as a dem. pron. The aid of *þe* was more strongly required. *þe* occurs

A) immediately after a pers. pron in the same case; *ic þe*, *þu þe*, *we þe*, *ge þe*

a) not referring to any preceding word. *þætte we þe his limo sindon, leorndon æt him* Cp. 32: 22. *We þe swo ofte misdoð we muȝen us . . ofdrade* Sp. I 17 B: 210. *þu þe þyrstende wære . . drync nu þine fylle* Or. 76: 33.

b) referring to a preceding pers. pron., or to a noun in the vocative, or to the implied subj. of an imperative. *Ic eom gabriel ic þe stande beforan gode* (ego sum gabrihel qui adsto ante deum) HG Corpus MS Luke 1: 19. *ðu sitst on ðam hean setle, þu ðe symle demst swiðe rihte* Ps. 9: 4. *ic þe bidde þe drihten þu þe æart riht lif* So. 334: 15. *mid hwan sulle we iqueme We þe nafre god ne duden* Sp. I 17 B: 96. *ge sind earmingas geworden, ge ðe wæron mære* ASR 14: 127. *Ne gedræfde ic na israhel . ac gedrefdest ðu sylf . and þines fæder hiwraeden . ge þe forleten god* LS 18: 90. — *eala min Drihten, þu þe ealle gesceafta ofersihst* Bo. 12: 14. — *Doð eow clæne ge þe berað Godes fatu* Cp. 76: 2.

B) after a pers. pron. which does not go immediately before or is not in the same case, or after a noun in the vocative. *Ic Saxulf . þe . . nu eam biscop . ic gife hi min curs* ASC 59 note: 20. *Gif þu þat geraðdest, þe her ricost eart* Byrht. 36. Ps. 5: 13 (§ 186 Note). *swa swa we hine ageaton . þe him on locodan* ASC 354: 38. *leorniað, ge domeras, þe ofer eorðan demað* Ps. 2: 10. — *To-ȝeines þe (thee) . þe isist men, speked Seinte Pauel* Sp. I 9: 182. — *Ælmihtig fæder up on rodore, þe ða sciran gesceaft sceope & worhtest . . , ic þe . . gecenne* Glaub. 3. *hlaford of mihte þe halst hefenen þrimsettles* Sp. I 1: 40.

C) with a subsequent *ic*, *þu* etc.; see § 189 C.

§ 188. Ex:s for the int.-rel:s.

A) *me, þoru wam he haþ of þe maistrie* ROB. OF GLOUC. (KOCH p. 265). *Thee whom God chees to moder* CHAUC. 80: 108. *How ye han ferd and doon, whyl ye be there. The whos wel-fare . . god encesse* CHAUC. 317: 1359. *ȝit nocht incressis thy curage to indyt, Quhois hairt sum tyme hes glaid and blisfull bene* Sp. III 11 A: 4. *in care of thee . . who Art ignorant of what thou art* SHAK. Temp. I 2: 17. *do tell me, who am thy friend* FIELD. Tom J. 8: 12. *Ye crags upon whose extreme edge I stand* BYRON Manfr. 1: 2. *Dear fool, you hid it passing*

well, but I, whom you would hide it from, knew more than you (Mod.). — *It is I, drede you noght, What was wont with you to gone Town.* Myst. (MÄTZNER p. 524).

Wher thou ert not the Egipcian which mouedist a noyse WYCL. (KOCH p. 262); cf. HB Acts 21: 38. *Infortunat ascendent tortuous, Of which the lord is . . falle* CHAUC. 479: 303. *I . . am doghter to the kyng . . , which . . me delyte . . this gardyn to visyte* Sp. III 3 B: 1308. *we which walke in the brode daye* Sp. III 16: 19. *Our Father which art in heaven* HB. *Thou tyrant (o: beauty) which leav'st no man free* COWLEY in JOHNSON 16.

Note. KOCH found »die Beziehung» in the quot. from WYCL. (see above) »ganz unerwartet». Of a similar nature is *If thou beest he; but O how . . chang'd From him, who . . Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine Myriads* MILT. Par. L. 1: 85. Cf. § 186 Note.

§ 189. Pers. (possessive) pron:s of the 1st and 2nd pers. occur also in combinations like those in **Chapt. IV.**

A) *Se mec* = (ego) quem; cf. § 177. *lc eom se dema se mec dryhten heht snude gesecgan* *þæt ge . .* Guth. 675.

B) *Se þe ic* = (ego) qui; cf. § 178. *ic am gabrihel se ðe ic tostondo fore gode* HG Lindisf. MS Luke 1: 19.

C) *þe ic* = (ego) qui; *þe þu* = (tu) qui; *þe þe* = (tu) quem; cf. § 179. *þæt ic, ðe be syndrigum mægþum . . geornlice ic tylode to awritanne, þæt ic . .* (that I, who etc.) Be. ed. SMITH 472: 37 (WÜLFING). *hwanon þu cumen sy . þe þu þus eald feoh gemettest* LS 23: 587. *þu þe þe lufað æall* So. 334: 4.

D) *That . . yours* = (tu) cujus; cf. § 180. *ye are the same knyghte that I lodged ones in your Castel* Md'A 266: 15 (BALDWIN); cf. § 186 Note.

E) *Which we* = (nos) qui; cf. § 182. *that we thankful should be, Which we of taste and feeling are* SHAK. LLL IV 2: 30.

Chapter VI.

Various remarks on rel. clauses and on complexes containing rel. clauses, particularly in OE and ME.

§ 190. A main clause expresses a fact, an action, a circumstance, etc.; a rel. clause expresses another fact, action, circumstance, and so forth. The mutual logical relation of the two facts, actions, etc., can, according to the laws of the framing and conceiving intellect, and independently of the particular syntactical form, be of very different nature. A rel. clause may express an independent fact and be equivalent to a co-ordinate clause; see for instance § 147 A. It is

then called progressive, descriptive, non-restrictive. It may denote a quality and be equivalent to an adjectival adjunct, e. g. *A man who is good* = *A good man*. It may also express consequence, purpose, cause, reason, supposition, condition, concession, etc. Thus, for instance, the complex *He who is ill cannot go out* may mean (a) »the sick person (in question) cannot go out (for some reason or other)»; »he (the individual in question) cannot go out, seeing that (because) he is ill»; (c) »if (supposing) a person (anyone) is ill, then the consequence for him is that he must stay in». — We will first pay special attention to such complexes in which the rel. clause is expressive of supposition or condition.

A) *se þe frione forstæle . . , swelte se deaðe* Le. 60: 5, »he who steals a free man, [he] shall die», »if any one steals a free man, [then] he shall die». — *Se* (if anyone) *to anra ðara burga geflihð, ðonne mæg he beon orsorg* Cp. 166: 20. *se mon se þe* (if a man) *boc-land hæbbe . . , þonne setton we, þæt he . .* Le. 94: 6. *swa hwa swa* (if any man) . . *his mod went to ðæm yflum . . and he hi næfre forlætan ne ðencð, ðonne forlyst he eall his ærran good* ASR 9: 59. Chart. 39: 14 (§ 128). Here the main clauses have assumed the shape usual after *if*-clauses, the whole complexes thus forming apparent anacoluthons; cf. § 37. — Similar are: *þe þet* (if a person) *ne warned oðer of his vuel oðer of his lure, nis hit slouh zemeleste . . ?* Sp. I 9: 12. Sp. I 9: 23. *Ancre þet* (if a nun) *naueð nout neih hond hire uode, beoð bisie two wummen* Sp. I 9: 236. *who-so* (if any one) *haþ more þanne I . þat angriþ myn herte* Sp. II 15 V: 97. *who euere schulen not resseyue . . you, ze goynge out fro thennes shake away the powdre fro zoure feet* Sp. II 17 A 6: 11. *Bot who þat wole of wondres hiere . . , such merueile herde neuere man* Sp. II 20: 288. *Quha sperd* (if any one asked), *scho said . .* Sp. III 6: 282.

B) Somewhat loosely connected are the rel. clauses in: *Leidon þa Godes curs . . & al cristenes folces . þe* (if any one; on whomsoever) *ani þing undyde þæt þær wæs gedon* ASC 53 note: 28. *He sette . . is londes . to ferme* (let his lands on lease) *wel vaste, Wo-so* (as soon as any one; to whomsoever) *mest bode þeruore* Sp. II 1 A: 451. *Beow. 1135* can be explained in a similar way; but cf. NADER § 100 end. — *Ther was sorwe, wo-so it sawe!* (o: any one would have been as sorrowful, if he had been there) Sp. I 18: 473. *in the sterres . . Is writen, god wot, who-so coude* (o: if we only could) *it rede, The deeth of every man* CHAUC. 478: 195.

C) Common were expressions like *as who says*, »as though any one should say». *Bote schome ouer schomes þoledes tu hwen þu wes hened bituhhe tua þeofes. As hwa se seie . He þis is mare þen þeof . And for-þi as hare meister he henges ham bituhhen* Sp. I 10: 54. **Note.** MORRIS and SKEAT seem to have passed over this passage rather lightly. In the notes they give the translation »as one may say». But of *He* nothing is said, neither in the notes nor in the glossarial index.

Do they think it is the pers. pron.? I take it to be an interjection denoting surprise or ridicule; cf. OE *ha!* — *And Crist . . said, 'foles, qui er ye fered?' Als qua sai[d], 'Godd es in this schip . .'* Sp. II 8 B: 13. *In creeping soft as who shoulde steale* Chaucer's *Dream* (A. SCHRADER p. 16). *Sche was, as who seip* (»so to say«), a goddess Sp. II 20: 281. *As who should say* SHAK. Rich. 2 V 4: 8.

§ 191. A clause introduced by a general rel. often implies that a thing, circumstance, etc., real or assumed, independently of its nature or its degree of actuality, is, or should be, of no consequence with regard to what is expressed in the main clause. Such »indefinitely-concessive« expressions had originally a shape which in MnE would appear like: *Be he whoever he be, I will not yield. I will defend him, be it against whomsoever it be. I love him, may he have done whatever he may have done. I will hear nothing, be it whatever it be.* — But these fuller expressions were gradually reduced in a way exemplified by *Whoever he be, I will not yield. I will defend him against whomsoever it be. I love him, whatever he may have done. I will hear nothing whatever it be.* — They could be rendered still more elliptical: *Whoever, I will not yield. I will defend him against whomsoever. I will hear nothing whatever.* — Examples:

A) *heora eaþmetto me mihton nauht forstandan . ne huru heora ofermetta . dydon swa hwæþer swa hy dydon* Bo. 164: 1. Bened. Rule (§ 172 D). *simle him wolde þæt fylgean . . wæron hi on swelcum lande swelce hi wæron* Bo. 154: 24. *be-hate swylc wite swilc he us behate . we nan þinge ne beon ofdrædde* LS 23: 459. *Let come what come may, . . I shall have had my day* TENNYSON (Cent.).

B) *Ne misleue non god, hwat so bitide* Sp. I 9: 316. *horn ihc schal þe fecche Wham so hit [euere] recche* Sp. I 19: 352. *he wold . . wayte hire sum wicked torn . what bi-tidde after* Sp. II 12: 148. *in despit, who that was lief or loth, A sterne pas . . he goth* Sp. III 3 B: 1071. *he wil auenged be . . , what euere that befall* Sp. III 3 B: 1087. *in lyke wyse . . Ye wolde answere, who-so-euer it were* Sp. III 10: 124. *take no repulse, whatever she doth say* SHAK. Gent. III 1: 100. *I will be content, whichever course you follow* (Mod.).

C) a) *I will . . procure the same for him against whomsoever* ESSEX in MAC. Bac. 29. *he's one o' the soundest judgments in Troy, whosoever, and a proper man of person* SHAK. Troil. I 2: 208. *If not Achilles, sir, What is your name? . . If not Achilles, nothing . . Therefore Achilles: But, whate'er, know this* Ib. IV 5: 77. *He counts it lawfull in the bookes of whomsoever to reject that which . .* MILT. (Cent.). — b) quasi-attributively. *you shall find in all other respects whatsoever no comparison between them* ESSEX in MAC. Bac. 29. — Now only after *no, none, nothing, any, etc.* let me not find you before me

again upon any complaint whatsoever SHAK. Meas. II 1: 261. *He said nothing whatever* (Mod.).

§ 192. The rel. could be separated from the finite verb or the prep. to which it logically belonged, by a clause which contained a verb expressive of utterance, perception, remembrance, knowledge, belief, wish, etc., and followed by the conj. *þæt* (e. g. *ic sæde þæt; me þuhte þæt*). Under certain circumstances (see under A) such an arrangement can still be used.

A) The rel. is the obj., adverbial adjunct, or pred. compl. of the verb in the *þæt*-clause. — MnE often omits the conj.

a) The verb in the inserted clause is transitive and active. *Eardædon Bryttas binnan þam dice . . , þe we gemynegodon þæt Seuerus . . het þwyr̃s ofer þæt ealond gedician* (quod Severum trans insulam fecisse commemoraverimus) Be. 44: 7. *þæs drys þe mon sæde þæt heo hie wið forlege* Or. 126: 25. *Ic . . cuðe sumne broðar ðone ic wolde ðæt ic næfre cuðe* Be. 442: 9. *ða þrowunga . . þurh ða he ær wende þæt he hi acyrran meahte* Be. 40: 20. *þat þe he wolde þat me dede him* Sp. I 1: 84. *þet we nolleþ þet me do to ous* Sp. II 9: 87. *ðæt he swelc sie . . , næs swelc swelc his selves gesceadwisnes sceolde ongietan ðæt he wære* Cp. 110: 12. *Eahtige he hine selfne on his inngedonce swelcne swelcne he ondrætt ðæt he sie* Cp. 119: 8. *she hath this empyr̃se y-take on honde, Which ye shal heren that I shal devyse* CHAUC. 480: 349. *suche an archier as men say that ye bee* Sp. III 10: 103. — **Note.** WULFING, § 270, puts a (!) after the second *swelcne* in Cp. 119: 8. I do not consider this form at all extraordinary. The acc. case may be owing solely to the verb of the main clause (type A 5 a, § 13), or partly to the transitive verb of the inserted clause (cf. § 193). The other reading (*. . ingedonce swilcne he . .*) is no more »eigentümlich» than the ex:s in § 12 a (type A 4 a). Quite as little do I feel inclined, with regard to *þu ne mage þone wisdom . . geseon swilcne swilcne he ys* So. 347: 26, unreservedly to declare that the latter *swilcne* is »hier natürlich nur Schreibfehler».

b) The verb in the inserted clause is intransitive or passive. *þa ongunnon heo . . deofolgildum þeowian þe monnum þuhte þæt heo . . forlæten hæfde* Be. 112: 4. *ða tieglan . . , ðe him beboden wæs ðæt hi scolden ða ceastre Hierusalem on awritan* Cp. 161: 13. *Wæs þær . . untrumra monna hus, in þæm heora þeaw wæs, þæt heo þa untrumran . . inlædon sceoldon* Be. 346: 26. *þæt he gesawe ane . . byrgenne, swelce hiera þeaw wæs þæt mon ricum monnum . . worhte* Or. 202: 4.

The conj. is omitted in *To bete þulke robberie . þat him þogte he adde ydo* Sp. II 1: 274.

B) The rel. is the subj. of the verb in the *þæt*-clause. — MnE would either omit *þæt* (*that*) or replace *þe* by »about whom», »concerning which», etc., in which case a pers. pron. must be added in the *that*-clause, or, finally, have recourse to some freer version (e. g. acc. with infinitive, a parenthetical clause like »[as] they say»; cf. KOCH p. 271). *Donne wæs Biise Eastengla biscop, þe we sægdon þætte in þæm . . seonode wære* Be. 280: 12. *him þa from bugan þe hie betst getriewdon þæt him sceolde sige gefeohtan* Or. 82: 25. *be þam monnum ðe wit ær cwædon þæt unc þuhte þæt wæron wildiorum gelicran ðonne monnum* Bo. 318: 11. *ælcne þara þe hio geacsian myhte þæt kynekynnes wæs* Or. 30: 19. *þa namen hi þa men þe hi wenden þæt ani god hefden.* ASC 382: 21. *Luue is . . Cristes fur þe he wule þet blasie in vre heorte* Sp. I 9: 288. *he gemette ða graman gydena ðe folcisce menn hatað Parcas, ða hi seogað ðæt on nanum menn nyton nane are* ASR 9: 31. *he dede sende After a fishere that he wende That wolde al his wille do* Sp. I 18: 524. Cf. KOCH § 359. 4; § 360. 4.

Note. Concerning those of the above ex:s which are taken from ÆLFRED'S writings and in which the rel. is *þe*, WÜLFING, § 302 c, says: »Man könnte sagen, dass in diesen Fällen die relative Partikel *þe* zur Verbindung genüge, aber sie gehört doch wohl zunächst als Objekt zu dem den *þæt*-Satz regierenden Zeitworte, und deshalb ist anzunehmen, dass das persönliche Fürwort, das ja in einigen Fällen noch steht . . , hier ausgefallen ist.» It is hard to understand how WÜLFING can look on *þe* in Be. 112: 4 (the first quot. under **Ab**) as the »Objekt zu dem den *þæt*-Satz regierenden Zeitworte», as this »Zeitwort» happens to be the intransitive *þuhte*, which, of course, except its indirect obj. *monnum*, can have no obj. at all. No doubt WÜLFING means »Objekt oder Subjekt». Even though it is not exactly tempting, in this ex. and in Cp. 161: 13 (not mentioned by WÜLFING) to make *þe*, which represents a plur., the subj. of a sing. verb., I will leave the difference in number out of consideration (cf. § 29 a). But in Cp. 161: 13 and Or. 126: 25 (the second ex. under **Aa**) etc., if WÜLFING's theory were true, the prep. *on*, *wið*, etc., would govern »fallen out» pers. pron:s. Be. 44: 7 corresponds in its present shape more closely to the Lat. original than it would do, if a pers. pron. (*hine*) were placed after *we gemynegodon þæt*. And (to take a couple of ex:s, which, though quite analogous, are not given by WÜLFING on account of their different rel:s) *þurh ða* in Be. 40: 20 (**Aa**) can, of course, be neither subj. nor obj., governed, as it is, by a prep. and evidently dependent on *acyrran*. And how could *ðone* in Be. 442: 9 be the obj. of *wolde*? He did not wish the brother (!); he knew him, although he wished he had not done so. The sentence *forlet he Marius þæt fæsten & for to ofrum, þær he geascade þæt Geoweorþan goldhord wæs* Or. 230: 4, where the rel. is an adv., would convey the meaning that Marius had reached the other fort before hearing anything about Jugurtha's treasure. But it was this very treasure that

brought him thither! How closely the rel. could be connected with the verb in the *þæt*-clause is proved by sentences like *mid his unmaetum weorode, þæm he gealp, þæt him nowiht wiðstandan meahte* Be. 154: 16 (cf. 193 A). Cf. the mod. ex:s given by KOCH p. 272. Finally it may be pointed out that in *þyder he cwæð þæt man ne mihte geseġlian* Or. 19: 12, a complex which has no rel. at all, but is, in other respects, quite analogous to those above, it will be impossible even for WÜLFING to connect *þyder* with *cwæð*. — Thus I believe to have proved that we must give up the »falling-out» theory altogether.

§ 193. Although I consider that in all the quot:s in § 192, or at least in most of them, the rel. was felt as going with a word in the *þæt*-clause, I readily acknowledge that, on account of the position of the rel. immediately before the verb which governed the said clause, there was a tendency to connect it with this verb. Quite distinct are sentences like *Hæfde se ealwalda engelcynna . . tyne getrymede, þæm he getruwode* (whom he trusted) *wel, þæt hie his giongorscipe fyligan wolden* Gen. 248. *Yours; whom in constancy you think stands so safe* SHAK. Cymb. I 4: 137. John IV 2: 165. In the following quot:s, where the *þæt*-clause has a pron. of its own, denoting the same persons etc. as the rel., the syntactical value of the rel. is somewhat ambiguous. In MnE we are inclined to render it by »about whom», »concerning which», etc., or else to make use of some construction mentioned in § 192. In the quot:s under A we might also render *ðe . . him* by »whom», *that . . them* by »which» (cf. §§ 179, 180).

A) The pers. pron. in the *þæt*-clause is not subj. *mid his unmaetum weorudum, ðe he gealp þæt him nowiht wiðstandan mihte* Be. ed. SMITH 524: 8 (WÜLFING); cf. above. Cf. *one was a wolf, one a . . leopard, and the other were creatures that we knew not what to call them* DEFoe Capt. Singl., which passage BALDWIN, p. 30, brings into connection with the rel. periphrases (§ 180).

B) The pron. in the *þæt*-clause is subj. *þa men, þe he onget þæt heo on Cristes geleafan gelærde wæron* Be. 222: 20. *him coman ærendracan ge of monegum þeodum, þe nan mon Alexandres geferscipes ne wende þæt man his naman wiste* Or. 136: 9, which passage WÜLFING appears to have altogether misunderstood: he prints *his* in spaced type and puts a (!) after it. Be. 62: 4. Bo. 298: 13. Or. 126: 23.

§ 194. In *he ongan mid Creca scipun þe mon »dulmunus» hætt, þe mon sægd þæt on an scip mæge on þusend manna*, the rel. is followed by the kind of clause mentioned in §§ 192, 193. But here *þe* does not go with the verb of the *þæt*-clause, nor is it governed by a prep. in the said clause. It may either be considered as representing a partitive gen. (cf. § 117 C end), separated from the governing *an scip* (»on one ship of which» = »on one of which [ships]»), or else as belonging to *sægd* (»concerning which»; cf. § 193). Similar is Gen. 2043 (§ 84).

Note. WULFING, § 302, says that *scipun* is »dargestellt» in the *þæt*-clause »durch Wiederholung seiner selbst». This is not quite exact, as *scipun* and *an scip* are logically two different ideas, the latter having a smaller sphere than the former. It would have been right enough if the clause had been *þæt on þa scipu* etc. (In all the quotes in § 193 the rel. and the pers. pron. refer to exactly the same idea.)

§ 195. When, in OE or ME, two rel. clauses had the same ant., there was usually no conj. between them. *fram þam broðrum þæs mynstres ðe hi sylf astemnedon ðe L . . is nemned* Be. 4: 17—18. *on an igland þæt is ute on þære sæ . þæt is Meresig haten* ASC 172: 10—11. *Done Nazareniscan Hælend ðæt wæs afandon wer betwux eow . . , ðone ge beswicon* Cp. 443: 5. *Sy wuldor . . þam wel-willendan scyppende þe his halgan mærsað . . mid wundrum . seðe a rixað on ecnysse* LS 21: 497—498. *to an þat ichulle . . to halden ant . . luuien . þe is unlich . . alle worldlich men* Sp. I 8: 76—77. *hwet is he þes were þat tu art to iweddret . þat tu hauest wið-uten me þine luue ilene[t] for hwam þu letest lutel of þat tu schuldest luuien* Sp. I 8: 81—83. *tyraunts þat men ofte ders, þe whilk er bisy . . To nuye men* Sp. II 10: 1232—3. *The mighty giaunt to . . behold, Whose huge body was more than five carte-lode, Which lay there bleding, that was almost colde* Sp. III 12: 24.

§ 196. Less frequent were rel. clauses united by a co-ordinative conj. *þa beoð eadge þe heora wonnesse forlætne beoð & þara þe synna bewrigene beoð* Be. 442: 5—6. *þæt hit wære swyðtun se ðe hine lærde mid þære halgan lare . and þone ðe he geseah on ðære cyrcan* LS 21: 389—90. *euerilc wis[e] man; ðe wot quor-of man-kin bi-gan, And ðe of adames gilte muned* Sp. I 15: 2408—9. *sumtyme was a bischop whos name was G . . & which lijþ now buried in þe chirche of seint poul* Sp. III 5 B: 95.

§ 197. When a clause, complete (A, B) or incomplete (C, D), and containing a pron. referring to the same idea which was indicated by a preceding rel., was joined to a rel. clause by means of *and*, *ac*, *ne*, or some other co-ordinative conj., the said pron. was usually not rel. (as in § 196), but pers. Mod. usage, in such cases, would require, or at any rate prefer, two complete co-ordinate rel. clauses or, where admissible, a clause or expression subordinated to the rel. clause, or else, if the two pron:s had the same syntactical function (A, C), leave out the latter pron. altogether.

A) *sancte Iorius tid, ðæs ætēlan weres, ðone D . . se casere seofon gear mid . . witum hine ðreade ðæt he Cris[te] wiðsoce, & he næfre hine ofersuiðan meahte* (whom D. punished . . but [whom he] could never conquer) Mart. 40.

Se þe frone forstæle and he hine bebycgge (he who steals a free man and [who] sells him) . . , *swelte se deaðe* Le. 60: 5. *lease witegan . þa ðe cumað to eow on secape gelicnysses . and hi* (and [who]; or: although they) *synd wiþ-innan reafigende wulfas* LS 15: 121—122. *þæt þu þa . . mærdra mage geseon þe god . . mancynne geuþe . and he hi* (and [which he]) *on þines anwealdes timan hæfd geswutelod* LS 23: 795—796. *þurh þe holi word þe ure helende . . seide mid his holi muð: and efter him prest hem seid* (and [which] the priest says after him) *atte swimesse turned þe bred to fleis and þe win to blod* Sp. I 4 B: 83—84. *he þat me ene serueþ so, Ant he* (and [who]) *eft bidde mo, He shal me fynde vnfeyn* Sp. II 3: 189—190 (unless *Ant* means »if«). *See now . . how dere he azenboght us, for the grete love that he hadde to us, and wee nevere deserved it to him* (and [which] we never deserved from Him; or: although we never deserved it from Him) Sp. II 14: 43—44.

B) *Tantulus se cyning, ðe on ðisse worulde . . gifre wæs, ond him* (and whom) *ðær ðæt ilce yfel fyligde . . , he gestilde* ASR 9: 40. Sp. I 4 A: 79—80. *swa hwa swa . . his mod went to ðæm yflum . . ond hi ðonne fullfremeð, ond hi him ðonne fulllice licið, and he hi næfre forlætan ne ðencð, ðonne forlyst he eall his ærran good* (whoever . . and whom . . and who . . ; if any one . . and . . him . . and he . .) ASR 9: 59—62. *ic þe bydde driten ðu þe æart se hehstan wysdom, and þurh þe* (and through whom) *sint wyse æalle þa þe wyse sint. Ic þe bidde þe drihten þu þe æart riht lif. and þurh þe lybbað æall þa þe lybbað* So. 334: 13—15. **Note.** WÜLFING, § 297, seems uncertain about *þurh þe*. However *þu þe* (inflexible) . . and *þurh þe* (acc. of *þu*), in the 2nd pers., is perfectly analogous to *he þe* . . and *þurh hine*, in the 3rd, and to *ic þe* . . and *þurh me*, in the 1st. — *Ionas, se þe ðreo niht wæs wiðinnan þam hwale, and se hwæl hine* (and whom the whale) *abær to Ninivea birig, and seo dæd* (which deed) *getacnode ures Drihtenes deað, þe læg on birgene swa langum fære, ac he* (but [who]) *aras of deaðe* ASR 13: 472—475. ASR 13: 366—369. *Wa þam þe . . cwædaþ þæt hit god sæde þæt þæt hi secgað and god hi ne sende* (and whom God did not send; or: although God did not send them) LS 15: 118. Sp. II 12: 321. *armheorted is þe man . þe swidere reoweð his sinne . and he hem forlet* (whom his sins grieve sorely and who abandons them) Sp. I 4 B: 42—3. *Lere me to som man . my crede for to lerne, þat lyueþ in lel lijf . and loueþ no synne, And gloseþ nougt þe godspell. but halt Godes hestes, And neper money ne mede . ne may him nougt letten But werchen* (and whom neither money nor reward can prevent from working) . . Sp. III 1: 344—346. Sp. I 17 A: 257—258.

C) *se goldhord þe þu gemettest and hine* (and [which you]) *lange bedyrn-dest* LS 23: 603. LS 23: 361—662.

D) *ðonne ann ic his minra swæstar suna, swælcum se hit geðian wile & him gifede bið* (who is willing to accept [?] it and to whom it is granted) Chart. 41: 40.

ge kniȝtes . . , þat beþ . of so noble dede, þat nere neuere ouercome . ne ȝoure elderne naþemo (and whose ancestors were never conquered either; or: [not] any more than your ancestors), *Vnder-stondeþ . . Sp. II 1: 101. þe dyeuēl, a-ye huam and his* (and against whose) *kachereles þe . . uader . . his hous . . wolde lōky Sp. II 9: 18. Cf. Wæs þær in neaweste untrumra monna hus, in þæm heora þeaw wæs, þæt heo þa untrumran . . inlædon sceoldon, & (in order to) him þær ætsomme þegnian Be. 346: 26—27. thurgh syn, þat þai war wyth fild, and hardend þarin* (and wherein they were hardened) *Sp. II 10: 2341.*

§ 198. A complete clause containing no pron. referring to the same idea which was indicated by the rel. in a preceding clause, was often co-ordinated with that clause. Mod. usage would prefer a conjunctive clause, subordinated to the rel. clause, or else two co-ordinate rel. clauses. *al this world es bot a se, That bremli bares on banc wit bale, And (and where) gret fisches etes the smale Sp. II 8 B: 40—42. out of þe buschys . þat were blowed grene & leued ful louely . þat lent grete schade, & briddes ful bremely . on þe bowes singe* (whilst birds full loudly on the branches sing; or: and where birds etc.; or: and on whose branches birds full loudly sing) *Sp. II 12: 21—23. Cf. þæt he . . fleogan meakte . . þær geworht stondað Adam & Eve on eorðrice mid welan bewunden, & (whereas) we synd aworpene hider on þas deopan dalo Gen. 418—420.*

§ 199. A phrase forming no complete clause, and containing no pron. that referred to the same idea which was indicated by the rel. in a preceding clause, could also be attached to some part of that clause;

A) to the verb, in which case mod. usage would require a participle or a conjunctive clause subordinated to the rel. clause, or else two complete co-ordinate rel. clauses. *þa swa earme wif . . hæfdon gegan þone cræftgestan dæl & þa hwatestan men ealles þises middangeardes, þæt wæs Asiam & Europe, þa hie forneah mid ealle aweston & ealda ceastra & ealde byrig towurpon* (demolishing old castles and old towns) *Or. 48: 7—8. þæt wæs . . Eanmundes laf, suna Ohteres, þam æt sæcce wearð . . Weohstan bana meces ecgum, and his magum ætbær* (bearing away to his relatives; or: whereafter he bore away etc.; or: and from whom he bore away etc.) *brunfagne helm Beow. 2612—14. Fela halige menn . . wæron beforan us . . þam we . . geefenlæcan ne magon . ne ða þing gefyllan þe hi gefremodon on life* (not being able to accomplish the things which they performed in life; or: as we cannot accomplish etc.; or: and whose performances in life we cannot accomplish) *LS 12: 281—282. þe crisme cloð . þe þe prest biwinded þat echild mide . and þus seið* (saying thus). *Underfo shrud . . Sp. I 4 B: 35. forte brooke þis hus efter þis tresor . þat godd bohte med his deað . ant lette lif* (giving his life; or: when he gave his life; or: and for which he etc.) *o rode! is moni þeof a-buten Sp. I 7: 31—2 Sp. I 9: 77—8; 10: 94.*

B) to the rel., in which case we should use *as well as* or some similar expression. *vnneþe eni mon . mizte is' bowe bende, þat he wolde him-sulf . . ridinge wel vaste liztliche & ssete also . (as well as shoot) mid bowe & arblaste* Sp. II 1 A: 411—412. *On þam ylcan timan com eac sum bisceop . . to Westseaxena kyninge, Cynegyls gehaten, se wæs ða git hæden and (as well as) eall Westseaxena land* ASR 15: 102, where I suppose *se* to be rel.

§ 200. The rel. was often separated from its ant. by several words, even by whole clauses. Whether or not such an arrangement impaired the distinctness, depended, of course, on the circumstances. *Twa bec synd gesette æfter cyrclicum þeacum betwux þisum bocum þe gebiriað to Godes lofe, Machabeorum gehatene* ASR 13: 533, where I suppose *bec* to be the ant. *Da feng Neron to rice æfter Claudie . se æt nyston forlet Brytene egland for his uncafscipe* ASC 11: 17, where THORPE'S translation is misleading. *þæt ælc man hwæt his hade to belumpe folgade . se þe wolde* ASC 355: 4. *kniztes of bigonde se . & oþer men al-so, He gef londes in Engeland . þat liztliche come þerto* Sp. II 1 A: 256. — *he hafde ane hude! bizite to his neode . of ane wilde bule! þe wes wunder ane strong* LAZ. 14210, where the strength of the hide seems to be of more consequence than the strength of the bull. By the way it may be remarked that neither MADDEN nor MORRIS and SKEAT seem to me to have grasped the exact force of *ane*. The former translates the rel. clause: »that was wondrously strong.» The latter, Sp. I p. 312, render it by: »which was a wonderfully strong (one)». I believe that *ane* here means »uniquely,» »beyond comparison»; cf. the OE *an*, *ana*, the OIcel. *einn*, *einna*. There are in LAZ. about a dozen similar passages. The later text usually avoids the expression, substituting *wunderliche* for *wunder ane* and so forth. To the rel. clause in *mid wine! þe wes wunder ane god* LAZ. 14300 corresponds in the later text *ne mighte non be richere*. This, I think, gives the exact meaning of *ane*. — *For hit was þe forme-foster. þat þe folde bred, þe aþel auncetereꝥ sunez . þat adam watz called, To wham god hade geuen . alle þat gayn were* Sp. II 13: 259, which I, quite differently from MORRIS and SKEAT, translate: »For it was the first offspring which the earth bred, the sons of the noble ancestor called Adam, to whom (referring to »sons») God etc.» Cf. Cent. — The intricate nature of many rel. complexes is due to foreign influence. CHAUCER writes for instance: *Love, a-yeins the which who-so defendeth Him-selven most, him alder-lest awayleth* 214: 603. SURREY, the translator of the Æneid: *The teares berayne my chekes of deadly hewe: The whiche as sone as sobbyng sighes (alas) Vpsupped haue, thus I my plaint renewe* Sp. III 19 F: 43. SPENSER was partic-

ularly fond of rel. combinations. In SHAK. we find: *Forty days longer we do respite you: If by which time our secret be undone, This mercy shows we'll joy in such a son* Peric. I 1: 117; etc. *Than whom, than which*, etc. is a Latinism. The old servile translations of the Scripture etc. have been exemplified in the preceding chapters, e. g. in § 197.

The omission of the rel. will not be treated of here. If circumstances allow, it will be the object of a special investigation.



Appendix.

List of passages where I have expressed opinions differing from those of the authors whose works I have consulted, or where I have made additions to, or corrections in, their statements. The figures refer to pages in the present essay.

ANDERSSON 71.	MORRIS and SKEAT 6, 33, 60, 61, 83, 91 bis.
ASD 7.	MURRAY 52, 53.
BALDWIN 51, 78.	MÄTZNER 33, 58.
BOCK 7, 18.	NADER 24, 51, 57.
BOUTERWEK 8, 10.	NOACK 34 bis, 35 bis, 36, 44 bis, 49.
Cent. 58.	RIEGER 22.
DIETRICH 10.	SCHRADER, A. 33, 58, 60, 61, 67, 73, 78.
FLAMME 29, 41, 44.	SIEVERS 31, 41, 80.
GREIN 10, 12.	SKEAT 59, 61; cf. MORRIS and SKEAT.
HOLTBUER 19.	SWEET 12, 26, 31 bis, 42, 46, 57.
HERTEL 19.	THORPE 46, 91.
HEYNE 22, 24, 31, 32, 35, 45, 49, 51, 57, 78.	WÜLCKER 7, 10, 12, 22.
KÖLBING 12.	WÜLFING 7 bis, 8, 11, 18, 19—20, 24, 28, 31, 40 bis, 41, 42, 45, 47—48, 80, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89.
MADDEN 91.	ZUPITZA 58—59.
MORRIS 44.	

Facile est inventis addere.

Additional Notes.

- P. 4 bottom. For consistency's sake I ought to have marked aad' (type A 15 β) with an asterisk, as the only ex. given in § 23 is from the 13th cent.
- P. 9, § 25. Add the following quot.: *Frægn þa fromlice seo þe forht ne wæs . . hwonan his cyme were* Jul. 258.
- P. 13, § 39 end. Read: Cp. 166: 20.
- P. 14, § 41 line 2. Read: *guðgewædu*.
- P. 15, § 50 last line. Read: quae. — § 52 line 3: *audivit*.
- P. 16, § 59 line 5. Read: *ðæt*.
- P. 18, § 72 end. Read: § 142 B a Note.
- P. 21, line 22. Read: *hwæðer*.
- P. 24, § 84 end. Read: (§ 194).
- P. 26, § 88 line 17. Strike out the comma after (§ 153).
- P. 33, Note 7 line 17. Strike out the full stop after *No*.
- P. 41, § 112 first line. Add a full stop and the following quot.: *þa beoð eadge þe heora wonnesse forlætne beoð & þara þe synna bewrigenne beoð* Be. 442: 6.
- P. 48, § 121 a. In the last quot. substitute: for!
- P. 51 top. On account of the re-arrangement of § 132, reference ought to have been made to § 134 C a. The whole section B ought to have been placed in § 130.
- P. 54, last line. Read: Orm. 9053.
- P. 55, § 136 line 2. The word *me* appears as though it were in spaced type, which might be misleading. — § 137, line 13. Add a full stop after »quot:s».
- P. 56, § 138 line 15. Strike out the comma after »word». — Line 18. Read: As a particle. — In this and the following line *that* ought to be in spaced type.
- P. 61, line 8 from below. Read: MORRIS and SKEAT suppose . .
- P. 68, § 158. Read: **Hwile (which)** etc.
- P. 80, § 186 Note. Read: WÜLFING.
- Small errors which have arisen after the reading of the last proof-sheets and which are not misleading, are not corrected here.

